

**INSIDE: The new swim wear trends for the summer of '85**


# Maclean's

FEBRUARY 14, 1985

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE

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## Richard Hatfield Under Fire

A close-up portrait of Richard Hatfield, the Premier of New Brunswick, looking upwards and to the left with a serious expression. He is wearing a dark suit, a white shirt with a small checkered pattern, and a dark tie.

The late-night  
cocaine party that  
ignited a storm

A flamboyant leader  
fights for survival

**New Brunswick Premier  
Richard Bennett Hatfield**





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### COVER

#### Hatfield under fire

An account by youths of a 1982 party at Richard Hatfield's home, where drugs and alcohol were used, landed the controversial New Brunswick premier in trouble last week. Just days after his acquittal on a charge of possessing marijuana, last year, by week's end, scandal calls for his resignation, he had made no public comment on the new allegations. —Page 12

COVER PHOTO BY PHILIP HARRIS FOR MACLEAN'S



**Struggle for a culture's soul**  
As protests against culture in schools to the arts grow, Tory Conservative Minister Marcel Masse is beginning to challenge the cultural bureaucracy. —Page 47



#### The rise of Euroterror

A sudden surge in kidnappings and killings is causing alarm among West European security officials, who are ill-prepared to combat a new network of terror. —Page 26



#### High-cut suits

The new two-piece swimsuits come in many styles and colors but most have one feature in common: they are cut high on the thigh to make legs appear longer. —Page 45

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#### A flood of bogus brands

Canada is being flooded with cheap imitations of everything from Michael Jackson T-shirts to personal computers, aircraft parts and birth-control pills. —Page 34



## Defending history

Canada is indeed a strange land. On the one hand, you have Ernst Zündel and Doug Christie celebrating the modern version of the "Blood libel" trial in an Ontario court ("A courtroom clash over the Holocaust," *Law*, Jan. 28). On the other hand, the CBC has spent thousands of dollars on a documentary detailing the story of Churlis Grant and his efforts to save Jews from the gas chambers of Auschwitz, which, according to Zündel and Christie, did not exist ("Ringing Hitler's bells," *Teleview*, Jan. 28). Next, no doubt, will be a drama about the Zündel trial in which Zündel and Christie will sit down in front of their television to watch Christie Grant's War.

—A. LEVINE  
Windsor

As a resident of Alberta, I've experienced the reinforcements of having had James Keegstra spread his missionary flame to home. Now, it apparently is the turn of Ernst Zündel to fairly history. I find it truly amazing that here in Canada we are arguing about the fate of the European Jews during the Second World War while at the same time the West German government, which should be in the position to know, is continuing efforts to find, and extradite, those responsible.

—DAVEY HARKEN,  
Calgary

The courts will decide whether Ernst Zündel "knowingly spread false information about the mass murder of Jews during the Second World War." But



Zündel, a "Blood libel" trial

both sides have lost sight of the real issue. Doug Christie, Zündel's lawyer, seems bent on proving that the misinformation in the pamphlet is true. It is only one pamphlet—perhaps one or two copies of one in the face of several tens of Nazi documentation. On the other side, two survivors of the camps testify for the Crown. It would be painful enough to review the horrors of the Holocaust with one's family. To air them in the presence of Zündel and his ilk desecrates the memory of millions of Jewish and non-Jewish victims. Apart from the obvious insult he represents, he is an embarrassment to any thinking member of the German community as well as to the Islamic community he pretends to defend.

—MARGARET DUNN,  
Mississauga, Ont.

### Slim Pickens

Regarding "Talking Pickens to court" (*Business Notes*, Jan. 21): you claim that T. Boone Pickens has a reputation for attempting to take over large oil companies, but failing, yet still making huge profits, so that it is simply that he is a mere speculator. Actually, Pickens has long been an advocate of splitting up a company's low-profit "downstream" ventures (such as retail gasoline outlets and refineries), leaving the more profitable "upstream" activities, such as production, intact. His philosophy is that of the majors, such as Gulf and Phillips, were to get rid of their downstream functions, the companies' assets would be greater, and their stock values would rise.

—NANCY A. SCHNEIDER,  
Glenview, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to Letters to the Editor, *Maclean's* magazine, Maclean-Warner Bldg., 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

## PHILIPS

**SENTENCED** Polish security police Capt. Grzegorz Piotrowski, 33, and Interior minister Cezary Adam Piotrowski, 47, to 22 years in prison for the murder of anti-Communist Roman Katulski priest Rev. Jerzy Popiełuszko by chief judge Artur Kijewski in a provincial courtroom at Toruń. Polish Security Police Lieut. Leszek Piskala, 32, and Waldemar Chmielewski, 29, were sentenced to 15 and 14 years respectively for complicity in the crime. The abduction, torture and murder of the octogenarian, popular priest last October horrified the Polish nation and sparked mass demonstrations.

**NOMINATED** Retired army lieutenant and accomplished linguist Vernon Walters, 68, to the post of U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, by President Ronald Reagan. An experienced secret agent and troubleshooter for several American administrations, Walters will replace the outgoing Jesse Kirkpatrick, who resigned last month.

**DEED** Georges-Émile Lapalme, 38, who was leader of the Quebec Liberal party from 1960 to 1968, in Montreal. Lapalme began his career as a federal Liberal MP, serving in the House of Commons from 1948 to 1960. He later served as cultural affairs minister and attorney general under Quebec Premier Jean Lesage from 1960 to 1964. Known as the "real father" of the Quiet Revolution, Lapalme resigned from politics in 1968.

**APPOINTED** Lawrence Hasselup, 39, chairman and general manager of the Montreal Urban Community Transit Commission (MUTC) and unsuccessful Progressive Conservative candidate in the Sept. 4 federal election, to the chairmanship of Van Hall. In his election bid he lost to Liberal Bernard Garneau, former Quebec finance minister, in the riding of Montreal-Laval-des-Rapides.

**DEED** Nuclear physicist Frank Oppenheimer, 72, who worked on the development of the atomic bomb during the Second World War with his brother Robert, of cancer, at his home in San Jose, Calif. The U.S. government contacted Oppenheimer's research in atomic energy after he testified before the U.S. House Un-American Activities Committee in 1950 that he had been a member of the American Communist party before the war.

**DEED** British crime writer James Halliday Chase, 78, who wrote close to 100 books, at his home in Cornwall, Devonshire. His 1988 story about American gangsters, *No Goodbye Mr. Alibi*, is one of the best-selling mysteries ever published.



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## FOLLOW-UP

# The demise of the Klan

**F**ive years ago the long-dormant Ku Klux Klan suddenly became active again. As local "klaverns" sprang up around the United States, white-robed Klansmen burned crosses, spat out racist rhetoric and clashed violently with black demonstrators. Attempting to cleanse its image, some leaders of the usually secretive group even wore business suits and appeared on TV. Now, that revival is apparently on the wane. According to a recent report by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the KKK is "weaker and more isolated and more fragmented" than it was when the league conducted its last survey in 1980. But the report also cautioned that some frustrated Klansmen "are considering the launching of a campaign of terror and assassination."

The survey, completed by the league's 30 offices around the country, estimates the current combined membership of the many Klan factions at about 6,500, compared with 10,000 two years ago, with the largest concentration in the South. (The report does not include Canada but, according to Alan Shofman, national director of the League for Human Rights of Great Britain Canada, the few hundred Canadian Klansmen of the early 1980s have dwindled to a mere handful, most in British Columbia.) The decline in the United States, the report maintains, has led certain members of the hooded order with neo-Nazi connections to discuss killing government and civil rights leaders while disrupting activities to desert police. "These folks are out to overthrow the government," says Lyle Wells, director of the Atlanta-based National Anti-Klan Network. "They believe anybody who is serious should immediately form underground cells and begin the war."

The current small Klan poses no real threat to the U.S. government, and no terrorist actions have taken place. But the group does operate paramilitary camps and it has a history of violence. Founded after the Civil War by southern extremists determined to keep newly freed slaves "in their place" (the name Ku Klux apparently derives from the Greek word *kluxos*, or circle), the "hughies" quickly compiled a grisly record of beatings, lynchings and church burnings. During its heyday in the mid-1950s, when its members also included Catholics, Jews and immigrants, the Klan had roughly five million members and enough political clout to elect governors and senators. After years in decline the KKK emerged anew during the civil

rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, murdering many civil rights leaders in the process.

The latest revival, a reaction to such controversial issues as immigration, racial quotas and forced busing of schoolchildren, came to a head in May, 1979, when roughly 125 club-wielding Klansmen clashed with black demonstrators in Decatur, Ala. Five months later a Communist-organized "Death to the Klan" march in Greensboro, N.C., ended in a riot with a variety of Klansmen and neo-Nazis, in which five anti-Klan protesters were killed. The Klansmen and Nazis were acquitted of all charges in the Greensboro incident. 10 KKK men are currently facing federal indictment in the Decatur case. And last November, Georgia Klansmen were convicted, in separate incidents, of beating a black man married to a white woman and a white woman who allegedly associated with blacks.

Klan opponents say that the legal battles have helped to undermine KKK support and that the rise of mainstream conservative groups has also undercut the Klan. Says Charles Wizenstein, Southern civil rights director for the Anti-Defamation League, "People who want to oppose busing and affirmative action don't need the Klan. They can join the Republican party."

The rise and fall of the Canadian Klan



Multiple riots: a campaign of terror



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has partly mirrored that of the U.S. counterpart, the one being as directly anti-French as the other is traditionally anti-British. From its first Canadian base in Montreal in the 1890s, the Klan spread to the Maritimes, Ontario, the Prairie provinces and British Columbia, where in 1927 thousands of people watched about 300 Klansmen parade through downtown Vancouver. But it was in Saskatchewan that year that the Canadian Klan reached its zenith when about 5,000 people attended a rally in Moose Jaw, and its chief—Hugh F. Rimmond, an American—opened the history of "One language—English" and the belief that whoever did not support the Union Jack should be deported. The Saskatchewan KKK, however, like KKK chapters in other provinces, disappeared in the early 1930s and remained dormant for nearly half a century.

In 1980, shortly after the Klan's re-awakening in the United States, the Canadian Klan—supported by local neo-Nazi, white supremacy and other right-wing fringe groups—opened an office in Toronto and was soon claiming a national membership. "The news media really blew it up and did all our work for us," said its 26-year-old national director, James Alexander McQuirter of Toronto. But as the same news media later reported, McQuirter was charged for his part in a bizarre conspiracy to overthrow the government of the tiny West Indian island of Dominica in 1980 and for conspiring to murder fellow Klansman Gary MacFarlane in 1982; he was eventually sentenced to two and eight years, respectively. Two more Klansmen, Larry Jenkins and Wolfgang Deegan, and several Klan supporters were also jailed as a result of the Dominica plot, effectively ending the Klan's brief revival in Canada.

In the United States, Klan leaders deny that there has been substantial shrinkage in their support, and they profess to have no knowledge of any proposed terrorist campaign. Says Stanley McGolden of Tusculum, Ala., who claimed the title of Grand Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan after a recent split in that faction: "The only thing I know the Klan has planned is defending our people."

Jim Blair of Frederic, Ala., the Imperial Wizard of another major sect, the Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, says that his group is participating actively within the political system. "We hope to have a strong vote in national elections by 1986," Blair says. "We want to be important enough to have politicians requesting our support." That is surely an impossible dream in the face of the nation's reputation for racism and violence. Clearly, the Klan may be down, but it is not out.

—BOB LEVINE in Atlanta

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## An arms expert in exile

By Daniel Burke

The second broke with the suddenness of a fresh storm. During a visit to Canada in 1977, Zimbabwean guerrilla leader Joshua Nkomo told an Ottawa news conference that more than 900 tons of armaments had been shipped from Canada to Capetown, South Africa, in contravention of a United Nations embargo on arms sales to the white-minority-ruled nation. After Nkomo's startling allegation police identified the man responsible for the shipments: a brilliant Canadian-born aeronautics engineer, Gerald Ball, who owned and directed an \$800,000 weapons technology research company straddling the Canada-U.S. border near Highwater, Que.

Once acclaimed as "the man who could make Canada a space nation overnight," the steady rattle of North Bay, Ont., eventually sounded guilty in a U.S. court to illegally shipping arms to South Africa. The conviction shattered the scientist's public image, his business is tenuous and his morale. In 1980, before serving a six-month sentence in a Pennsylvania prison, Ball spent eight weeks in a Connecticut mental hospital because doctors said that he might be a security risk.

Now 56 and resettled in Europe, the mastermind behind Space Research Corp. (SRC) has rebounded impressively from his ordeal. His North American operation had been forced into bankruptcy while he was incarcerated, but Ball was determined to reclaim his stake in the international arms industry.

When he was released from Allenwood maximum-security prison in February 1981, Ball moved to Europe to re-establish SRC with a skeleton-down staff of five. The new company has since expanded to occupy two floors of richly appointed modern offices in the wealthy Brussels suburb of Uxelle. With 70 employees and branch offices in London and Madrid, the consulting engineering firm has secured contracts with no less than 36 governments, including Poland, where Ball has become a consultant to the North China Industries Corp. (NORCI), a government-owned outfitting firm. Said Ball's 39-year-old son, Michel, a chartered accountant and executive vice-president of the reform SRC: "We are not actually arms peddlers. We do not manufacture and we are not involved in nuclear or chemical weapons."

In 1961 Ball graduated from the University of Toronto's aeronautical engineering department—at 21, his youngest-ever Ph.D. Working on a guided

missile program for the Canadian government at Valcartier, Que., and later as director of the U.S. and Canada's High Altitude Research Program (HARP) at McGill University, he developed inter-

"Ball is an old ball of a scientist and a fantastic man. I respect him like my father."

armament research and development contracts to be Ball's preoccupation. Last fall one became involved in a project to establish a weapons testing site in Spain. The scientist's most notable invention remains a 125-mm artillery shell predicted at SRC's now-defunct North American compound, which is still the most effective weapon of its kind. Indeed, it was a shipment of 30,000 of those shell designs that was traced from Iran to South Africa in the mid-1970s. But his son Michel—21 not reveal whether



Ball in 1962: recluse

Ball's work in China involves the military. He says only that his father has been hired by the Chinese to procure from the West equipment such as machine tools, general plant layouts and forging facilities for certain types of steel production.

Ball spends several months of each year in parts of the country once inaccessible to foreigners, supervising and mounting on his firm's projects in the



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central city of Xian. In Nanjing, 300 km west of Shanghai, Bull is organizing a technical studies program at a university. He is also given an occasional lecture. Said Bull's French Canadian wife, Noemie, 52: "He is almost like a god to the Chinese. He is very well-known and respected there."

When Bull left for Europe after his release from prison, he declared that he would be "a fool" to return to Canada. Although he admitted in a U.S. court that his company had exported munitions without a license, Bull was angered by Ottawa's apparent attempt to

penalize his firm. He was never charged in his native country, but 1987 was fined \$25,000 in Montreal for falsifying information on federal export permit applications: the weapons that eventually ended up in South Africa were marked as being destined for Angola and Spain. Last year lawyers Eliot A. Ross, 40, and Joseph J. Bouchard, 40, a 1985-86 Quebec Canadian company, Canadian Technical Industries (CTI), against several federal administrative agencies. The lawsuit alleges that the federal government purposely undermined Bull, as well as the two other Quebec firms

owned by C.T. — Sheffield Electronics and Valeport Chemicals. All three industries collapsed after Bull was charged in the United States. C.T.'s bankruptcy occurred soon after the federal revenue department presented the company with a \$5-million tax bill, which it was required to pay immediately. The bill was ridiculous but the company had suffered irreparably. According to Michel Bull, his media-shy father—who rarely grants interviews or poses for press photographs—felt betrayed by the federal government.

Four years after Bull left Canada his anger has not yet cooled. Said Bruce Smith: "He is very bitter. It does not take much to anger him." Still, Bull appears to be growing weary of his self-imposed exile. His son says that he has become a man without a home or country. Bouchard serving as a mere leading post between business trips. And even though Noemie Bull continues to live at the couple's large house in the small bedroom community of St-Basile, just east of Montreal, with three of their seven children, her husband has returned to visit only three times since 1988. Instead, Bull's wife and children visit him several times a year abroad. Said Noemie Bull: "It's hard for him. He is a family man who adores his children. We stay here with the hope that he will come back."

Last November, Michel Bull took the first steps toward improving relations between his father and Ottawa. Bull, a smooth and diplomatic counterpart to his proud and sometimes outspoken father, has travelled twice to the capital to meet informally with officials at the departments of defence and supply and services. "My mission is to investigate the position of the new government," he told Maclean's. "I want there to be acknowledgment there was a screw-up in the way my father was treated, and then perhaps we can get together and do something constructive. We are not coming here begging."

Bull himself refuses to discuss the possibility of reopening his operations in Canada. A staunch critic of Kesteven Bloc nationalism and a passionate proponent of defence spending, he is well-known for his vociferous disapproval of the former Liberal government's tepid support of the military, an unpopular stance with some old servants.

In fact, Bull is no longer a Canadian citizen; he forfeited his citizenship in the 1970s when, for business reasons, he was granted an American citizenship by an Act of Congress. "We still consider ourselves Canadians," said Michel Bull. "And wherever we go in the world that is what we are recognized as." But now, Ottawa has given little indication that it is ready to welcome his father home.

With Peter Levine in Montreal.

By Gillian MacKay

## Berkeley's radical shift

By Gillian MacKay

Perhaps more than any other U.S. campus, the University of California at Berkeley was synonymous with student radicalism in the 1960s. The first student protest, for the Freedom to engage in political activity on campus, occurred there in 1964, resulting in hundreds of arrests and sparking youth rebellions across the nation. Led by future "Yippie" leader Jerry Rubin, 3,000 students with candles marched through the streets of Berkeley in 1965 to protest the Vietnam War. In 1968 rock-throwing students demonstrated in favour of making credit courses out of lectures by Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver. And in 1969 then-California governor Ronald Reagan sent in the National Guard after one person was killed and 39 were injured in a clash between police and students who were illegally occupying a plot of university land known as People's Park. But now, as Ronald Reagan begins the second term of his triumphantly conservative presidency, the university that he had once promised to "teach up" is very much in tune with his times.

Currently, Berkeley is a tranquil, almost sleepy campus. People's Park, for which students once risked their lives, is now an empty, unkempt patch of land frequented by local residents. On Sproul Plaza, where 3,000 angry student demonstrators once fought for the Freedom to engage in political activity on campus, a sparse, hood-lunging group instead roasts as an afternoon sunbather told them, "Children be good for you." Neatly, neatly dressed young men and women campaigning for election to student government were carrying placards that read, "Let activists, not politicians, just students." According to a candidate for the Kesteven Alternative Party, Bradley White, 21, a clean-cut, boyish political science major, activism has lost its appeal for students. Said White: "From what I have heard, talking to frat people and people in the street, students are sick of radical politics."

Still, most Berkeley students describe themselves as left of centre politically. A poll taken before last year's presidential election showed that 59 per cent of the students supported Mondale over Reagan and 41 per cent identified themselves as left or centre, compared to 27 per cent who were right of centre. But 41 per cent favored Reagan. Said Michael Weintraub, the short, chubby past pres-



Berkeley protesters. Sided liberation

ident of the Berkeley College Republicans: "Ten years ago if you had said that 41 per cent of Berkeley students would support Ronald Reagan for anything—except maybe cars—they would not have believed you."

Weintraub says that the momentum for change has almost pushed the campus toward the right politically. "The campus is more conservative today than it was six months ago, and it will be more conservative in six months than it is now," he said. Indeed, during the four years of Reagan's first term the Berkeley College Republicans tripled its membership to 525 from 90 students, making it one of the largest clubs on campus. When Reagan was elected in 1980, 3,000 Berkeley students marched to protest his victory. On an election last November only 350 turned out.

Caught with the lack of interest in political protest is a growing involvement of students in social causes—namely their own. Membership in fraternities and societies has soared to over 3,000 from a low of 1,385 in 1970, with most students considered class-membership clubs an unacceptably elitist. Said Michele Woods, director of student activities and services on the burgeoning Berkeley campus: "Not long ago the houses were closing because we could barely fill them. This year we went through one of

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## Too young to hate



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## The Rockettes kick up a storm

**F**or the long-haired dancers in America's best-known charity line, it was a two-legged blow. Last month the 36 members of New York's famed Radio City Music Hall Rockettes learned that they are scheduled to lose their employment this summer to a group of retired refugees from Disneyland. Their response: a high-stopping picket line around Rockefeller Center.

The dispute began when Walt Disney Productions Inc. signed a contract to rent the hall next summer. Then, company officials announced that the Rockettes, a fixture at Radio City since the hall's opening night in 1932, do not fit into plans to produce a movie with a stage show featuring Disney characters. Disney offered to compensate by employing 30 Rockettes for the summer at Florida's Disney World, if they stopped their protest. But the Rockettes continue protesting. Said dancer Rileen Callan: "If people stop associating us with Radio City, we're dead."

Ever since Russell Markert started the Rockettes in St. Louis in 1926, more than 5,000 dancers have joined the line, most of them stagecoach youngsters from such typical American towns as Erie, Pa., or Yonkersville, Ohio. Recently the profile of a Rockette has changed, although the routines have remained much the same. Most Rockettes are older (average age 30), better educated (college degrees are not uncommon) and more experienced (average tenure, 18 years). And family dynasties are not uncommon: several Rockettes have followed their mothers into the line.

The Disney move was the latest of several threats which the Rockettes have faced. The 6,000-seat Radio City nearly closed in 1973 after going heavily into debt. The hall was eventually designated a national landmark, and its owners, the Rockefeller Group, proposed to sell it out by turning the tourist scene for concerts and trade shows. Although officials pledged to retain the Rockettes for Christmas and summer spectacles, the traditional fair shows a day between movie showings—5-6 nights no changing tapers. As a result, many Rockettes have been forced to find other jobs to augment their salaries.

Still, the Rockettes have resolved to fight the latest assault on an institution that is, after all, just as American as Donald Duck. Said Marjorie Starnes, a 35-year-old from Washington, D.C.: "Of course we will fight. This is home. It is the best dancing job in the world."

—ANN FINKELSTEIN

COLUMN

## Cutting comments on CBC cuts

By Barbara Amiel

**C**anadian Broadcasting Corp. president Pierre Janssens must be laughing. He has saved top management jobs, cushioned the non-programming areas of the CBC and ruthlessly cut the areas that management has traditionally found difficult to control—staff creative talent. At the same time, the CBC campaign to blame the Tories for this dismantling of our national broadcast system has been a tri-umphal success. While Janssens congratulates Minister Mariel Manó on his attempts to cut the fat and ease the lean at the CBC, it is the Tories who are bearing the brunt of the criticism.

The crux of the criticism is that Manó and the current Tory government are high-class cowards who aren't interested in culture, only in making a buck. There is of course, running behind all such statements, the idea that it is impossible to culture to run cultural enterprises smoothly and economically. It isn't, but even that is beside the point. The point is that the budget cuts at the CBC have been injurious to Canadian culture. But they have been injurious not because of the Tory government but because, when the CBC was given an instruction by the government to cut the fat, this instruction was given to the fat itself. Fat can't be expected to lose fat, it naturally does away.

The CBC consists of three layers of people. The most of the CBC is the creative people: directors, producers, art designers, film editors and the like. Then there are the people who assist them in the studios and the offices. This is the second layer. The third layer is the problem: it is the over-expanding bureaucracy.

The cultural bureaucracy is composed of people who generally are in the top three or four management categories, classified as management group 5-6. They rate confidential secretaries and assistants in their offices. The people in management 1-5 are the management drones who actually do the necessary day-to-day work of administration. In the past 15 years there has been a move on the part of the cultural bureaucracy to increase itself. But the figures are so misleading because the bureaucrats have protected their power and appearance by contracting out some top management jobs—and by keeping details about themselves close to the chest. There was no difficulty in getting figures on the number of people declared redundant in the unstaffed or profes-

sional areas, but when I called the CBC to get a figure on jobs declared redundant in management categories 5-6 the answer was swift: "I'm sorry, Barbara, I can't give you that information," said CBC spokesman Tom Curran. "And your request has gone all the way to the top."

Indeed, on the CBC can be classified in terms of most talent, the most talent is the producers and the fastest part is top management by definition. The least redundant people are the totally creative personnel, such as directors and producers who create the programs. In the immortal words of the Fowler Commission, the business of CBC is programming; the rest is housekeeping.

Though figures are still hard to come by, there is very good evidence that when top management made the decision on which jobs to cut, the deepest cuts percentage was made in the most part. The Toronto television pro-

*'In the words of the  
Fowler commission,  
the business of the CBC  
is programming; the  
rest is housekeeping'*

duced association, which has about 300 members, had nearly 10 per cent of its staff positions declared redundant. The technicians' union, NABTU, which provides production support services, lost about seven per cent of its jobs, and 36 per cent of those who were declared were in the creative jobs. In other words, the union that includes creative people such as set designers as well as office administrators, 75 per cent of the jobs cut were creative services. Interestingly, in the 1974 Canadian Wire Service Guide which brought the CBC to minority when it went on strike and is also the medium through which the CBC brass can put their case to the public, there was not a single person declared redundant—only three job vacancies remained.

A hard look at the CBC over the past years would reveal that long before these budget cuts the cultural bureaucracy at the network had been trying to reduce its staff establishment when it came to creative people. The bureaucrats—who even raising questions about themselves close to the chest—were producers and directors are all on contract—and so much easier to manage. But administrators in private broad-

casting have a great check on arbitrary action that shows the administrators. If program is successful, a producer is not fired. The CBC, on the other hand, has no such constraint. These latest cuts declared redundant such creative areas as radio features. Bob Weir (founder of the early movement with only 10 months in the company) was cut. His husband and colleague, George Jones, the 1983 winner of the ACTRA award for his one episode of the highly successful series *The Scales of Justice*. The cuts were merciless: the average length of service of staff producers declared redundant was 20 years, their average age, 58. Unlike a purchasing agent or treasurer at the CBC who can go and get an equivalent job at General Foods Inc., what does a man such as classical music and opera producer Mario Prink do after having devoted 30 years of his life to bringing the arts to CBC?

If cuts had to be made, they could have been made by cutting contract people. But what the CBC top management people did was to use the budget imperative to shift their own position and get rid of staff people whose independence had always been a badge to their power. Cuts could also have been made in such non-programming areas as CBC Enterprises or by scrapping the bureaucrats who are planning CBC omnibuses or saving *Expo 86*. In January, 1985, an interview of the Canadian Film & Television Association points out that in 1982-83 Expo sales grossed \$5.7 million, but the department cost \$6.8 million. The CBC could have saved over a million dollars by simply giving the program to a staff person whose independence would have been a badge to their power.

It is a small irony that the well-founded exception of Tories that the CBC was a bastion for Liberal support is now being added by these cuts: people with the wrong ideas about the CBC and the arts and public affairs, which is virtually untouched. The few Tory supporters in the CBC have now been used. At the same time, the CBC brass are trying desperately to mobilize opinion against the Tories that these terrible cuts—brought by the Tories—are at one point they will actually have to start cutting themselves.

The one area about which the Tories can be faulted is that they moved too fast, although their \$75-million budget-cut demand was likely an attempt to get the Tories to "Plead guilty to the assignment—the honorable thing for him to have done. But Janssens, it seems, would rather save his own skin than that of the CBC.



# Richard Hatfield under fire

By Robert Miller

Outside, the air in Fredericton was clear last Thursday—but it was -30°C, and a bitter wind gusting down the Saint John River valley, past the Victorian granite-and-limestone Legislative Assembly where Premier Richard Hatfield has held power since Oct. 26, 1970. Inside, just across St. John Street, in the modern steel-and-glass Centennial Building where reporters waited impatiently, the air was warm, heated by government furnaces and several media engineers. Sniffing around and the scent of political blood, roughly 40 reporters and photographers spent the day staring out Hatfield's second-floor office in dogged pursuit of a sensational story about drug use in high places. Hatfield, the controversial 50-year-old bachelor who is known throughout New Brunswick simply as "Richard," appeared to be in grave political difficulty. The trouble involved new allegations linking Hatfield with ill-fated drugs—only six days after his acquittal on a possession of marijuana charge.

All-night party At week's end, the premier appeared determined to try to ride out the storm that broke last Monday with a Southern News Service report carried in the Montreal Gazette and other newspapers across Canada. The controversy gathered intensity through the week, but Hatfield flatly refused to deny or even comment on published allegations that he had provided—and also used—marijuana and cocaine during an all-night 1981 drinking party with four teenage males, three of them college students. He also declined to respond to allegations by two of the former students that he subsequently took three of them to Montreal on an expense-paid trip aboard a government aircraft. Said Hatfield, as he tried to escape from the crush of reporters who shouted questions outside his office late last week, "I have absolutely no comment to make."

And asked if he was worried that the reports damaged his image, he replied, "In my political career I have never worried about my image" (page 18).

Under Canada's Criminal Code, the possession and use of marijuana and cocaine, as well as the provision of the drugs to others, are criminal offences. Similarly, under the New Brunswick Liquor Control Act it is an offence to serve

alcohol to persons under the age of 18—which two of the students were at the time they claimed to have accepted Hatfield's hospitality. Several of the premier's Progressive Conservative caucus colleagues said that the premier was considering legal action against unspecified news organizations.

The premier's silence led to a chorus

intends to follow his normal schedule and that he would attend the Feb. 14 to 15 first ministers' conference in Regina (page 38).

Unrepentant: Indeed, earlier last week, following a Saint John meeting of Maritime premiers, Hatfield told reporters who asked if he intended to resign, "I have not considered resigna-



Hatfield and Audrey Ann Scott at drinking champagne party, possibly the party

of demands for his resignation—from some of his Progressive Conservative allies, from his Liberal opponents and from New Brunswick newspapers. Said Beverly Harrison of Saint John, chairman of the Tory caucus, "The time is up." Then Hatfield confronted his worried cabinet and caucus colleagues and, at least temporarily, prevented any outright opposition from developing. At the same time, his officials said that he

tion, I don't think, is any political career. I am unrepentant and unrepentant." The following night, amid reports that he had left the country on an abrupt vacation, the embattled premier appeared at the Montreuil Coliseum Arena for the opening ceremonies of the annual Canadian Figure Skating Championships, winning warm applause from the crowd of 2,000.

Still, last week's allegations threat-

ened to destroy a political career that began with his 1961 election to the provincial legislature, continued with his 2000 capture of the provincial Tory leadership and now him lead his party to majority victory in four general elections. Provincial Liberal Leader Raymond Fenech, for one, called a Friday afternoon press conference at which he urged cabinet ministers "to prevail upon the premier to make a statement or resign."

Less trouble: Even some of Hatfield's staunchest allies said that they doubted his leadership could survive in the absence of a full refutation of the story. Both Terry Dunlop, now 22 and a chef at The Newton restaurant, a haunt of

some of Hatfield's in an enclosed outside pocket of the premier's mansion. The RCMP discovery, in the course of a routine airport security check on Sept. 22, during the Queen's visit to New Brunswick, ultimately led to a possession charge against the premier. The case went to trial on Feb. 28, and Hatfield—who pleaded not guilty—was acquitted a day later.

At the time, provincial court Judge Andrew Harrigan ruled that there was insufficient evidence that the marijuana had ever been in the premier's possession. An RCMP expert had testified that the two partial fingerprints found on the plastic bag bore eight points of similarity with Hatfield's Superprint Ten

his fingerprints and welcomed a follow-up investigation by the RCMP. Federal Liberal justice critic John Nason, a member of Parliament for the Toronto riding of York South-Weston, called for a public inquiry into the Crown's handling of the marijuana possession case. As well, he declared that Hatfield had received special treatment under Canada's system of justice. Federal Solicitor General Brian Mackay acknowledged that he met Hatfield in Ottawa's Chateau Laurier hotel several weeks before the marijuana charges were laid. But he denied that he gave any undertakings to the premier.

Indeed, Southern's initial report of the alleged 1981 drug-taking party resulted from the RCMP investigation of the marijuana case. Daigle said he travelled to Fredericton from Halifax ready to appear as a witness at Hatfield's trial. He said that he was to testify about the alleged 1981 drugs party—if defense lawyers called character witnesses on behalf of the premier. Daigle was not called, but his story surfaced within a week.

Under the circumstances, Hatfield's friends Norman Addison, for one, a Toronto advertising executive and Tory political organizer who directed Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's successful 1984 campaign and performed similar services for Hatfield in previous provincial elections, said that he felt the

premier was unfairly attacked. Said Addison, "I'm a little concerned that after he has gone to court and a judgment has come down that, now, all of a sudden, there is a whole bunch of stuff coming out. I know Richard too well, and he is too good a person, and I think it is terribly unfair." Added Senator Paul Macdonald, a Nova Scotian and former president of the PC Canada Club: "I am so sick about the whole thing I really don't know what to say. It is no longer a legal matter, but I cannot really give you any comment. I am too close to the guy and have too much affinity for him."

The drugs issue was a particularly troubling problem for a premier who has been extraordinarily popular in spite of—or perhaps because of—his controversies. Butley has long declared to be different, to follow a lifestyle outside the norms for conventional Canadian politicians. His success at the polls has made him the country's long-



Exterior view of the Hatfield residence, an uncompromising refusal to comment on published allegations

Hatfield journalists, and Michael Kyte, 40, unemployed and living in Toronto, gave basically the same accounts of the party. The two men said that they took part in the 1981 party (page 18).

Said Christopher Darrah, president of Hatfield's own Curious Content riding association: "I am sure Mr. Hatfield will explain things when the time comes right. We're waiting on him to say or do what he has to do."

Hatfield's leadership has been under attack in New Brunswick since Oct. 28, when the Fredericton Daily Gleaner first disclosed that the Real Canadian Mounted Police, winning warm applause from the crowd of 2,000.

points are usually required for a positive identification, and it could not be positively established as being the premier's. During his concluding remarks, Harrigan, in an unusual and widely criticized comment, speculated that the marijuana might have been planted by a reporter who wanted to create a spectacular story.

Verdict: But Hatfield's difficulties continue even after the verdict was in. Hatfield-faced television reporter Pat Ryan, singled out by Hatfield's lawyer as one journalist who might possibly have planted the drug in Hatfield's carcase, denied the suggestion, offered to take a polygraph test to prove



Michael Kyte

not-serving premier still in power. As a controversial provincial leader, he has been in the mould of such former premiers as Joseph R. Smallwood of Newfoundland and the late W. A. C. Bennett of British Columbia than he has in that of less flamboyant Tories such as Ontario's William Davis and the late Hugh John Flemming, who led New Brunswick from 1958 to 1960.

**Revolution.** After enduring a decade of being in opposition in the 1980s, the New Brunswick Conservatives chose Hatfield to replace the colorful, erratic Charlie Van Horne as leader at least partly because of Hatfield's solid upper-middle-class background. Like Flemming—who subsequently moved to federal politics and served in John Diefenbaker's government—Hatfield was from the Upper Saint John River valley, a prosperous agricultural and lumber region. Indeed, his father was a well-off potato broker, and the family owned of potato ships was a New Brunswick legend.

With that background and a law degree from Dalhousie University in Halifax, Hatfield seemed to many Tories to be the ideal candidate to defeat Louis Robitaille and the Liberals. Robitaille, an Acadia lawyer, had swept Flemming's government from office in 1980, profoundly changing the essential nature of New Brunswick's political power structure. Under Robitaille, the province's francophone minority—roughly 38 per cent of the population—became an adversary which has continued and even accelerated under Hatfield.

An avowed of Canada's only officially bilingual province, Hatfield became a strong supporter of language rights, although his own attempts to learn French never enabled him to achieve fluency. Indeed, as a Conservative he often seemed more in tune with former Liberal prime minister Pierre Trudeau's policies than with those of his own PM, Margaret Thatcher. He was Davis' supporter of the federal Liberal approach to patriating the Canadian Constitution—angering the eight other premiers, led by Alberta Conservative Premier Lougheed.

**Less like many anglophone New Brunswickers.** Hatfield is a strong admirer of the royal family. A portrait of the Queen Mother hangs in Hatfield's bathroom, where he also keeps a shelf of good books and several small objects of art. Still, recent royal visits have led to problems for the premier. For one thing, the vigilance in which he guarded his marijane was about to be placed aboard the Queen's aircraft. For another, during the 1983 Canadian tour by the Prince and Princess of Wales, Hatfield



Hatfield at home: an eclectic lifestyle unique among Canadian politicians

generated wide publicity across Canada and in Britain when he proposed a rambling toast to the royal couple—"We have heard and read the lion," he said, confidently. "Today it was wonderful to meet and share the truth"—which unfortunately gave New Brunswick residents.

A decision by Hatfield to open up his government's language policy to public debate sparked several angry incidents—including pushing and shoving—at open meetings late last year. Still, New Brunswick's Acadia—once overwhelmingly Liberal—has responded by giving Hatfield their votes.

For Hatfield, a keen student and shrewd practitioner of politics, the apathy last week was painfully few. It was a reminder in confidence governing far more than two years before calling an election. The Tories swept back into office in October, 1982, and currently hold 35 of the legislature's 58 seats, and Pres-

identiation, there is no obvious successor waiting to take over. But among those who might consider seeking the Tory leadership Finance Minister John Baster, a 61-year-old Saint John lawyer and son of former premier J.B.M. Baster, J.W. Bird, 52, a former mayor of Fredericton who served as minister of natural resources before resigning in April, 1982, to return to his construction supply company, Agriculture Minister Malcolm Macdonald, 51, a hard-working and long-serving former Marston entrepreneur, and Health Minister Charles Gallagher, 58, who has held a number of government posts, including those of education minister and party whip.

**Mandate.** A successor would inherit a strong party with a large majority and a mandate in confidence governing for more than two years before calling an election. The Tories swept back into office in October, 1982, and currently hold 35 of the legislature's 58 seats, and Pres-



Queen Elizabeth with premier: meetings with worried colleagues but business as usual

ident the Liberals held 17. One seat is vacant. The victory was partly a personal achievement by the premier, partly the result of Liberal division and disagreement. Since Robitaille's defeat, the Liberals have offered voters a series of unimpressive leaders.

Hatfield has dealt successfully with previous scandals. In 1980 Fredericton lawyer Francis Atkinson, a prominent Tory, was convicted for his part in an unlawful 1972 bond-raising scheme. The RCMP investigated Hatfield in connection with the Atkinson affair and found there was not any evidence to implicate the premier. Similarly, Hatfield has engaged the voters' wrath for such major policy mistakes as Malcolm Bird's failed experiment in car manufacturing, which ended with the company going into receivership in 1975 with a \$25-million loss to the province.

**Style.** Despite these embarrassments, Hatfield kept winning elections. But so his successes mounted, so did his difficulties with the press. The relationship between the premier and the media has long been an uneasy one. On the one hand, Hatfield enjoys and seeks out the companionship of journalists, often inviting them to talk politics—and occasionally away from politics—over drinks in his modest bungalow. On the other hand, the traditional adversarial relationship between politicians and the press was reinforced in Hatfield's case by the succession of scandals and policy errors—and by media measures with the premier's style.

Hatfield had such a penchant for travel that one year he spent fully 300 days outside the province, frequently flying in New York or for exotic holidays in such foreign destinations as Morocco and Southern Africa, drawing criticism from opposition Liberals and New Brunswick newspapers. Former federal Tory president Dalton Camp, a Hatfield friend and adviser who writes political commentary from his home in New Brunswick's Grand Lake, once remarked, "Just because Richard wants to be the premier doesn't mean he wants to live here."

As well, Hatfield's bachelor status, which periodically leads to gossip about his sexual preferences, made some elements of the media's unrelenting of how to deal with it, and Hatfield's consistent refusal to comment on the subject has irritated some commentators. The result has been an almost palpable hostility with-in the New Brunswick media.

**Management.** Still, the issue does have political implications. In the 1978 election, after Hatfield had dismissed former Liberal leader Joseph Daigle as "a second-hand Rose" who stole Tory policies and offered them to voters, the press hastened to record Daigle's ac-

cepted. "I would money by a second-hand Rose than a faded rose up." The issue's political significance was evident again last week, while provincial Tories were debating the drugs-party allegations.

At least some New Brunswickers made it clear last week that they believe Hatfield is a victim of media harassment and the withholding of old information. Indeed, gossip about the alleged 1981 party, apparently initiated by the students who claim to have been involved, was so widespread at the time that the Liberals tried unsuccessfully to obtain copies of government flight logs in order to launch an investigation. Chief Justice Clark of Sussex, N.B., the Tories' provincial party president, "I wish he would be left alone so he can continue with his government."

**Weakness.** At the same time, a group of four University of New Brunswick students—bearing signs reading, "Free Rick" and "No, No, Don't Don't Rose"—marched from the 1300 campus to the Centennial Building to protest media's treatment of the premier. Said their leader, Timothy Smith, "I've seen David [Hartman] in court. He should be left alone."

But late in the week six other UNB students arrived at Hatfield's office with a petition, signed by 185 others, which demanded the premier's resignation. For the moment, at least, the decision was Hatfield's to make. He has frequently claimed that he "has sense when people agree with something I've done and when they don't. But New Brunswick's premier—for so many years, like some American Lions Clubs member's Boyce Furon, a

public figure who was "highly dignified, adored"—will have to rely on all of his political instincts to avoid a bitter fall from grace.

With Clark Head in Fredericton, Michael Chagnon, Reg MacGowan, Pat O'Connell in Ottawa and Ann MacIntyre in Toronto.



Daigle: old story



# 'Like something out of this world'

By Ross Laver

I was, one participant recalled four years later, "like something out of this world." Indeed, from the moment the flamboyant middle-aged man was introduced over hamburgers at a downtown Fredericton restaurant on Jan. 22, 1985, his three-day encounter with four youths had a bizarre quality that appealed to the teenagers' love of adventure. But the most startling element of the students' story was not the unusual series of events—an early morning drug party followed by a whirlwind all-expenses-paid trip to a prominent Montreal hotel—but the allegations, so far unproven, that the middle-aged man in question was none other than New Brunswick Premier Richard Hatfield.

The chain of events that culminated in last week's dramatic accounts began less in a chilly Thursday meeting at Fredericton's Diplomat Motel, Michael Kyte, and Peter Daigle, both students at St. Thomas University, were having a late dinner with a third male friend from the University of New Brunswick and Owen Boyle in a dining room off the motel lobby. But

Hatfield's home: 'He had a vid in his hand and a spoon which he swished in and out.'

and another male friend at a nearby table, said Daigle. The premier, who knew Boyle slightly, asked to join the youths at their table.

**Cooking:** As Daigle recalled last week in an interview with Maclean's, the talkative premier, 49 at the time, was soon in friendly terms with the youths. Said Daigle, then 18: "I ordered a hamburger and french fries, but I never got them. I went to the washroom and when I got back, Mr. Hatfield was sitting under it. I said, 'I hope you are planning to order another for me,' and he did." Later, Hatfield got a ride home with the students. Boyle drove the party the four kilometers across town to Hatfield's modest white clapboard bungalow at 7 Elmerford Place. "He invited us in for a drink," said Kyte. "It took a little while before we became most of us didn't even know the guy. Just 'really nice, decent, nice, would—just for one drink.'"

One drink quickly became several,

and Boyle fell asleep on the premier's grey carpeting while the others sat chatting. "He would ask us things like 'Do you like your classes?' and we would ask 'How do you like being premier?' We let him know we were astounded to be there," recalled Daigle. Some time later, he said, the subject of drugs came up, whereupon the premier left the room and came back with a bag of marijuana. "Mr. Hatfield wasn't saying much, but he had a grin on his face. We were laughing—it was so far-fetched."

A few minutes later, Kyte and Daigle

the airport, where they met Hatfield and boarded an aircraft for the flight.

**Hangovers:** In Montreal the premier and his three young guests checked into adjoining suites at the Queen Elizabeth Hotel. Daigle said Hatfield's schedule kept him busy for most of the day, and the students went for a walk, dined and napped. They returned about 4 p.m. and ordered food, pop and cigarettes from room service, telling the hotel staff that they were Hatfield's guests. According to Daigle, he stayed in the room that evening while Hatfield



said, the premier produced a small vial of white powder which he said was cocaine. Kyte rubbed a small amount of the powder on his gum and, he said, it made them numb. Daigle, "[Hatfield] had the vial in his hand and a spoon which he swished in and out." There was the premier with white powder around the edge of his nostrils. The students also experimented with the drug but, Kyte said, "the amount that we did was not enough to get you high."

At dawn Friday, with Beatles music playing on the stereo, the students asked Hatfield what his plans were for the day. The premier announced that he was leaving for Montreal and that his party guests were welcome to join him. The students returned to the St. Thomas campus to shower and change. Said Daigle: "As soon as we got in we were a piece of an onion in our heads, and we were just posing." Boyle, who decided to stay in Fredericton, drove the three students to

and the others "had a few drinks and a little to eat." The two students returned about 11 p.m., watched TV and went to bed. On Saturday morning the students ordered breakfast and a generous quantity of cigarettes at the premier's expense. Admitted Daigle: "We took advantage of it a bit." First afternoon the students said, they joined Hatfield again for the night back to Fredericton, where they were met by the premier's driver and taken back to their residence.

Daigle, now a chef at Hatfield's Newsroom Restaurant, recalls the student as a brief but interesting interlude. "We were there, three teenagers," he said. "We weren't 'I'd kind of sparked something in our lives.' Said Kyte: "I'm a 22-year-old kid who did something when I was an 18-year-old kid. I want to forget the whole thing."

With Chris Wood in Fredericton and Jim Mahoney

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## A loving look at Canada's economy

By Michael Clugston

The first order of business for this week's conference of Canada's provincial premiers in Regina is an item rarely heard at provincial finance provincial economic summits—the establishment of civil relations. When they last conferred formally about the economy in February, 1982, the leaders argued heatedly. At the end of that three-day Ottawa meeting the provincial premiers on one side and Pierre Trudeau on the other bitterly blamed each other for their failure to agree on solutions to the nation's economic problems. By contrast, the two-day Regina meeting, timed to open in the 100th anniversary of the confederation of the provinces, is expected to be a party of postponing potentially divisive issues.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the provincial leaders restricted the Regina agenda to four subjects on which they can agree—the need for more investment, worker training, regional development and exports. Last August, at a provincial conference in Prince Edward Island, the 10 premiers called for “a new era in federal-provincial relations,” no matter who won the September federal election. And Premier René Lévesque, the chief foe of previous federal-provincial meetings, promised to be amiable this time. A Quebec cabinet document written by Lévesque’s minister of economic development, Marc Johnson, said that Quebec should be conciliatory to prove that it is “playing the game of co-operative federalism.”

But that unity theme will be tested after Regina by tougher issues, including how to deal with unemployment and recent federal-provincial energy and wealth-sharing agreements. Said Manulife's Howard Pewing, the only New Democrat in the cabinet, "The real test will come with the federal budget [in April] and all future conferences when we have to deal with more specific federal-provincial concerns." A primary concern cited by Pewing and other New Democrats is the federal deficit, the highest of Canada's 14,000,000 employed. Miller emphasized the need to first establish "a community of purpose" in Regina, but Pewing questioned Ottawa's preoccupation with reducing the federal budget deficit instead of priming the economy to generate more

That note of discord suited the policy dispute that worried the 1982 economic conference, where Ottawa preached austerity to fight 15-per-cent inflation while the premiers pushed for measures to reduce unemployment.



Miller and Mohrney: establishing a community of purpose to build growth

Exting 8.8 per cent of the labor force. Since then, the annual inflation rate has subsided to 3.8 per cent, and the jobless rate has grown to 11.8 per cent. But while austerity remains Ottawa's watchword despite the bleaker employment picture, most of the first ministers

may require transfer payments, effectively shifting part of the federal deficit to them.

"This approach would be catastrophic," concluded Quinlan in a recent document.

For his part, Makresy says that the payment system will be "reviewed by all." But federal-provincial civility will only last, said Alberta's Peter Lougheed in an *Alberta Report* interview, if the Makresy government understands that "economic and fiscal policies cannot be called national if they are made by the federal government without the co-operation of the provinces."

Troublesome issues awaiting action include a

Will correspondents report?

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# The trials of a minister

By Michael Chughtai

In the hotbed of Ottawa's parliamentary politics, a reputation may flourish on the basis of a single, well-chosen phrase—or with a truly striking blunder. But even by those twisting coattails the experience of Rosanne Blais-Greener is exceptional. Her decline into political notoriety has been as swift as her ascent from relative obscurity five months ago, when Prime Minister Brian Mulroney appointed the newly elected MP for Montreal-Rosemont, a sociologist and human rights activist, to a sensitive task as environment minister.

Blais-Greener's appointment, setting aside another parliamentary tradition that awards new MPs a "honeymoon" time to get settled, has been relentless in its attacks on the way she carried out the Mulroney government's blanket instruction last November to reduce spending plans for the fiscal year starting April 1. As she led up established environmental and wildlife programs for budget cuts, critics in the Commons and environmentalists outside Parliament focused their wrath on her so intensely that, at the height of one fight last year, she protested that her credibility had been "completely destroyed." By last week, when Blais-Greener conferred with provincial counterparts in Montreal about proposals to combat acid rain, she had gathered some placard-wielding showmen about air pollution. And she contradicted in an earlier interview with *Maclean's* that private and provincial sponsors would offset to her projects cancelled or cut by her ministry. But with her many critics in full cry, some Ottawa politicians questioned whether she can survive as political president. She is being called a "Liberal MP for Gaudier-Twillington, Nfld., and a frequent critic." Any other minister would have resigned by now.

Blais-Greener, 46, has Roger's view, "I'm probably one of the roughest people right now and she is facing with the worst rate of any of the ministers." In addition to \$12.4 million trimmed from projected administrative costs—part of an operations austerity plan imposed throughout the departments—Blais-Greener proposed further savings of \$4 million by curtailing environmental protection and research projects as well as chopping back the Canadian Wildlife Service (CWS). Altogether, Environment Canada would lose more than six per cent of its annual budget of about \$750 million, with the CWS alone cut by 37 per cent. Environment Canada's 1987-88 plan of 418 full-time and part-time positions would account for more than one-quarter of the estimated 1,600 federally

staffed jobs to be abolished by Finance Minister Michael Wilson's government-wide restraint plans.

Many of the programs and by the department were specifically designed to protect migratory birds and endangered animals and to monitor the effects of toxic chemicals on wildlife. Typical of



Blais-Greener: 'back in the trenches'

the cancelled programs was a study on the effects of the widespread use of agricultural chemicals on the Prairies, where pesticides threaten to contaminate both water and food supplies. Scientists generally regard such programs as early warning systems about poisons in the environment that could possibly endanger human health. The sharp curtailment by the wreckage of environmental research and services was compounded by a ministerial maneuver that critics regarded variously as

abdicating, shuffling and evasive. On one occasion, when asked why she had not requested a \$10-million federal grant to finance a toxicology centre in Guelph, Ont., she replied "Oh, come on. What we have out in Guelph is mercuric and cadmium, not asbestos." Some environmentalists may have arisen because of her incomplete grasp of English. Opponents accused her of evading her department's mandate to protect the environment and of "incompetent and irresponsible" behavior. Even fellow Conservative David Kilgour (Edmonton-Sheridan) called Blais-Greener's troubles on her lack of advice from departmental officials, and her list of program cuts on the Prairies "would create a maximum of public outrage and do a minimum toward ending waste."

Under attack, Blais-Greener reacted by partially restoring a few political research programs. And she was supported for initiating meetings between industrialists and the Canadian Coalition on Acid Rain. "People have been a bit quick off the mark to judge her," wrote *Maclean's* director Michael Percy. "In the last week's federal-provincial agreement to co-operate in curbing industrial pollution basically reversing a similar 1983 pact against acid rain—cost-sharing details remain unresolved—Blais-Greener produced at a historic meeting." Now, she said, Ottawa and the provinces will work out "how much money is needed and what the percentage will be for each level." In the *Maclean's* interview, Blais-Greener described her cost-saving policies, her idea that the provinces and private industry can take up the slack—"I can almost guarantee you that within a month and a half from now the projects will all be taken over and we will save a lot"—and her methods: "My job is to listen to various theories and interests and report that to cabinet. Listen to my architect colleagues and adjust my priorities with the priorities of the government," said the minister. "When I ran in the election, it was because I had a very strong conviction that something was going wrong in the country. We were living completely outside our means."

Environmentalists contend that her fiscal concerns expose the Mulroney government's intention to dilute Environment Canada's mandate to protect wildlife and natural resources from pollution and other threats. The Prairies, they contend, are the country. We were living completely outside our means."

A Quebec City native who says she enjoys canoeing and cross-country skiing, Blais-Greener, 46, gained master's degrees in sociology at Laval University in Quebec City and in social work at McGill University, Montreal, and studied economics at the University of Paris. She taught social work at Laval, was director of social services with the federal health and welfare department from 1975 to 1978, served as a director of the Canadian Human Rights Commission from 1978 to 1981, then worked with Quebec's occupational health and safety association. Married to Albert Greener, director of the Montreal Conservatory of Music, and the mother of two teenage sons, Blais-Greener got her first taste of politics as a volunteer at the Conservative party's Montreal headquarters last year. She was approached by the Rosemont riding association only weeks before the Sept. 4 election to run as a Tory candidate. She won by 1,274 votes out of the total 31,254 cast.

Of her appointment 13 days after the election to lead Environment Canada, Blais-Greener told *Maclean's*, "I was not elated, as someone said about me." Rather, she was flustered by "the large supply of interests and problems" she had to balance. "I am an advocate for balance," she said. But her critics contend that the balance has tipped against environmental safeguards. Even after Blais-Greener announced the restoration of three programs previously earmarked for abolition, environmentalists feared that one—a study of the effect of toxics on breeding birds in the Great Lakes—would employ only one technician instead of the previous six. Sheila Cuppo, the vice-president of the Liberal Party, charged the minister with "diverting time" in her own "political exposure" and called on her to resign. Reginald A. Gaudier, a Conservative MP, said "I think very simply that our procedures are more efficient than those of the previous government."

New Democratic Party critic James Pabon also has touched on speculation that Blais-Greener's troubles may have her out of her post. Pabon described her in Parliament as "the Canadian equivalent of Anne Garneau," a controversial administrator of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency from 1981 until she resigned under fire from environmentalists two years ago. But even some critics say that the attacks on Blais-Greener may be understated, citing the Mulroney government's generally in the environmental camp. Said Liberal Charles Caccia, environment minister: "The problem is not that she doesn't know how to do it. It is to pin it all on the person. It is a mentality that pervades the cabinet."

—BRUCE WALLACE in Montreal



Bennett pinning his hopes on a \$1.5-billion world fair in Vancouver

## Bennett's uncertain future

When the late William Andrew Coit Bennett raised British Columbia for 20 years ago, he was a pioneer. He had been a newspaper editor from 1908 to 1978; the day after the election he had been named a non-union province into the number 1 province in Canada. He was helped along by an expensive national economy and massive public works projects. But his political hair and second son, William Richards Bennett, who succeeded his father after a three-year interruption by the New Democratic Party, has not been so lucky. Ever since the 1980 recession Bennett has struggled to shake his province out of a barren spell, with politically explosive results. This week, as the B.C. Legislature assembled after a nine-month recess, Bennett faced an NDP opposition accused by the opposition of his safety recovery program.

Bennett, 61, approaching the 16th anniversary of his accession last Dec. 22 and expected to sail an election early next year, has already promised British Columbia's volatile electorate that "recovery" will be his dominant year watchword. Fifteen per cent of the province's labor force is unemployed (only Newfoundland is worse off). Nearly one-quarter of its \$2,882,600 citizens are dependent on welfare or unemployment benefits. Amid slack world prices for British Columbia's forest and mining products and a sharp rise in fuel costs, the province lost about \$15 billion to \$7 billion annually during the past three years, a 1986 economic upsurge seemed an uncertain hope at best. Bennett's faltering political fortunes

are blamed primarily on the way he tackled the economic slump. Following a decline re-election victory in May, 1984, he embarked on a tough restraint program. In the past two years his government pushed through a contentious package of legislation that reduced the civil service by 30 per cent, increased taxes, abolished rent controls, curbed union rights and severely trimmed the educational budget. Pivotalizing by the 28-member NDP legislative caucus tied up the 57-seat legislature before Bennett appeared last May.

The restraint measures, in addition to upping the Solidarity Coalition of labor and social groups against the cuts, have alienated many traditional Social voters. The party lost two by-elections to the NDP last November. The NDP under Robert Skelly, the 45-year-old Port Alberni farmer-politician who replaced former premier Dave Barrett as party leader last May, returned to "zero in on the question of education and how it has hampered our economy into the ground," said Dennis Coote, NDP MLA for New Westminster. "The Socials have gone too far."

To deflect the opposition's sting, the government's featured project in Expo 86, the \$1.5-billion world fair in Vancouver designed to draw millions of tourists and dollars next year. But with a University of British Columbia report already predicting a \$500-million loss to taxpayers and with last year's world fair in New Orleans having registered as a dollar-disaster, Expo 86 is an uncertain route toward making British Columbia number 1 in growth again. □



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# A resurgence of terrorism

By Peter Lewis

In Paris the French government issued the nation's most respected policeman, Robert Bressand, to lead the campaign. In Bonn, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French Prime Minister Laurent Fabius announced the establishment of a special anti-terror unit, led by a justice. In Brussels the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation declared its determination to suppress terrorism and planned new security precautions. After months of inaction Western Europe last week mobilised to fight the destructive menace of left-wing urban guerrilla movements.

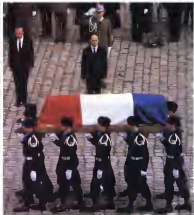
What prompted the concern was a resurgence of European terror—a four-month wave of violence marked by roughly 90 bombings aimed at Western military targets and two grisly assassinations. More ominously, the new plague of terror was accompanied by increasing evidence of co-ordinated action by the principal guerrilla groups—the Red Army Faction (RAF) in West Germany, Direct Action in France and the Fighting Circles (CC) in Belgium. “This is no longer guerrilla fighting,” said a spokesman for Italy’s interior minister, Oscar Luigi Scalfaro. “This is war, fought in another way.”

In fact, while France, Belgium and West Germany remain the three countries most affected, the response was international. In Lisbon, Prime Minister Mario Soares urged speedy passage of an internal security bill that would give police the right to search without warrants and help the fight against the rr-25, Portugal’s home-grown terrorist cell. In Washington, Secretary of State George Shultz told his department’s counterterrorism bureau would join forces with U.S. corporations to combat anti-American terrorism abroad. And in Rome, Italian officials reiterated calls for a special Common Market meeting on political violence.

Until recently, security officials in Western Europe believed that arrests, trial convictions and jail terms had broken the back of the major guerrilla movements. But a series of attacks over the past few months have forced them to reassess that opinion. On Jan. 25 the RAF and Direct Action issued a five-page communiqué announcing the formation of a unified political-military front against war and other defence-related technol-

ogy. The same day, a car bomb exploded at a U.S. Army social centre in Brussels; the CC claimed responsibility and said that its aim was to kill or maim “the Yankee military and its accomplices.”

Two days later Gen. René Arnaud, the ranking French army expert official, was gunned down in his grey Renault outside his Paris home. Minutes after



Air and sea air 50 bombings and two grisly assassinations in just four months.

the morning Direct Action claimed credit. Then, on Feb. 1, two members of Germany’s RAF murdered Dr. Siegfried Zimmermann, chairman of a major manufacturer of engines for NATO’s Leopard 2 battle tank and the Terraco, the alliance’s most advanced fighter-bomber. Boosted an RAF telephone caller: “West European guerrillas are shaking the imperialist system.”

Indeed, all the links in the terror network have not been firmly established, but the myth has been spread from Greece

to Portugal. Last week a bomb explosion ripped through a dockside Athens bar frequented by American servicemen, injuring 40 people. A new organisation, the National Front, took responsibility and vowed to strike again. In the Dutch city of Groningen, another previously unknown group, the Northern Terror Front, freshened three military tar-



gets in 12 days and pledged additional attacks on NATO facilities.

For its part, Portugal’s rr-25 launched an unsuccessful mortar attack on an NATO ship in Lisbon harbor on Jan. 28, then bombed the houses and cars of West German servicemen last week in the southern town of Beja. Defiant Brian Jenkins, a Rand Corp. specialist on global terrorism, “the answer was that you identify the group, isolate it and bust it. Now terrorism moves from a problem that can be solved to a condi-

tion that won’t go away.”

Beyond the formal “merger” of the RAF and Direct Action, the evidence of terrorist co-ordination is increasing. Lifting wreckage from recent bomb blasts, anti-terrorist squads discovered that much of the explosive material derived from the same source: the theft of 1,800 lb of special plastic compound from a quarry near Brussels last June. Moreover, both in Belgium and West Germany, the urban guerrillas struck in sequence at plants of the same three American defence-related companies—Liton, MAN and Honeywell.

The signal for the campaign, security officials say, was the announcement of a hunger strike by 80 West German convicted terrorists, including leaders Christian Klar and Brigitte Mohnhaupt. The strike began on Dec. 4, sparked 40 bombings and arson attacks in West Germany alone, then ended within hours of Zimmermann’s killing. An RAF “commando,” named after Patrick O’Brien, an Irish Republican Army terrorist who died during a 1981 hunger strike, claimed responsibility for its murder.

That shift from symbolic fire bombings to assassination was presaged by Belgium’s CC in a January communiqué. “Life has no special moral character. Those whose biological existence keeps the wheels of death turning have to be eliminated in the struggle for life.” But despite RAF’s pledge last week to rid Europe of “this scourge of civilisation,” security officials admit that they are ill-prepared to meet an international threat. Indeed, last July Frankfurt police discovered secret RAF documents that contained plans for attacks on NATO installations and a list list of hundreds of prominent people, including Zimmermann. It is not clear why the announcements were not pre-announced, but as one spokesman said last week, “We have no way to protect them all.”

What is clear is that West European police will now be more vigilant and that potential terrorist targets—diplomats, businessmen, armed forces personnel—will be more conspicuous in their movements. Already, U.S. Embassy officials in Paris have begun driving ordinary unmarked cars. Belgium has put extra police on its streets and will spend the entire Brussels police budget in four weeks. And last week West Germany’s huge Siemens electronics firm moved its annual press conference from a downtown Munich hotel to a second company building outside town. But as vigorously as in fact, only hours after the gates opened, in Geneva of London and Madrid met in Geneva to discuss trade contacts between Gibraltar and Spain and the question that lies at the heart of the dispute, who owns Gibraltar?

The struggle, 1,296-foot-high rock,

GBRALTAR

## Spain lifts a long siege

Waking started like blizzards, 40 members of a Welsh war’s choir sang strains of 1945’s “Keep a Whistle.” The young vocal Union Jacks and shouted “British we are, British we stay.” And four minutes after midnight on Feb. 3, an island dispute changed shape. The rusty green iron gates that separate Gibraltar from Spain swung open to cross-border traffic for the first time in nearly 14 years. The possible Spanish siege of the old British colony had failed.



Reopened border port: champagne

by ended. But the arrival atmosphere did not last. Among 20,000 Gibraltarians—a racial mosaic of Britons, Maltese, Jews, Moors, Spaniards and Indians—there is growing fear that the future of their tiny 2.5-square-mile enclave under the British flag may be in jeopardy. In fact, only hours after the gates opened, in Geneva of London and Madrid met in Geneva to discuss trade contacts between Gibraltar and Spain and the question that lies at the heart of the dispute, who owns Gibraltar?

The struggle, 1,296-foot-high rock,

which guards the passage between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, was captured by Britain in 1704 and formally ceded by the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht. But more than 240 centuries later the late Gen. Francisco Franco’s regime claimed the Spanish claim to the rock and its 3,000 people on the frontier, hoping to starve the colony into surrender. The tactic backfired, antagonizing Gibraltarians and undermining the economy of La Línea, a neighboring Spanish town dependent on cross-border trade. In the Liverpool, Spain’s decision to lift the siege tacitly admitted the failure of that policy. Now, many Spaniards hope that economic and cultural links will result in conquest by assimilation. Said Antonio Marmolejo, the deputy mayor of La Línea: “The Gibraltarians will disappear in time. We respect their views. But we shall never renounce our sovereignty claims.”

At least for the short time, neither Britain. Under an agreement reached last November in Brussels London is committed only to discussing, not negotiating, the sovereignty question. And during a recent exchange in the British House of Commons last week Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher insisted that her government “will never enter into any negotiations under which the people of Gibraltar will pass under the sovereignty of another state against their expressed wishes.” Those wishes seem clear enough. According to a poll conducted by Gibraltar’s weekly newspaper, *Amorosa*, 94 per cent of the territory’s residents stand opposed to even discussing sovereignty. And the local opposition Labour Party collected 10,000 signatures on a petition to block the border reopening. Gibraltarian politician Michael Portillo: “Some people may call ‘Gib’ an overreaction. But it played its part in defending British interests so we feel London has an obligation to us.”

In Geneva last week Spain’s foreign minister, Fernando Morán, fused two possible ideas for Gibraltar’s future: a hashish arrangement under the Spanish flag or a joint “condominium” for 45 years. The two sides will meet again in Madrid in December 2001, even if it takes a generation, many observers believe that the Rock will eventually return to the British. As the prospect of the loss of social contact quickens, Gibraltarians’ demography—and its attitudes—may change. The significance of last week’s gate-opening ceremony is that the first barrier has fallen.

—DAVID RABIN in Gibraltar

## A militant birthday message

As the oldest president in U.S. history, Ronald Reagan only insisted that he wanted to ignore the 35th anniversary of his 38th year. But as he celebrated his 74th birthday—on the same day that he delivered the annual state of the union message—5,600 cards, hundreds of gifts, two cakes, a banner strung beneath the Capitol dome and a rooming Happy Birthday chorus from a joint session of Congress greeted him from forgetting it. A similar generosity characterized the state of the union message itself. With trademark flights of stirring rhetoric, Reagan painted a glowing vision of the nation's prospects. But he glossed over three of the gravest problems with which his administration was wrestling last week: the \$200-billion budget deficit, his proposed \$51 billion in spending cuts for fiscal year 1986, which was into bipartisan opposition on Capitol Hill, and the worst farm crisis to hit the United States since the Great Depression.

Reagan issued a ringing call for a "second American revolution of hope and optimism" that critics on both sides of the political aisle said that the rhetoric did nothing to obscure the most explosive aspect of the 1985-86 budget battle: that he had formally submitted to Congress only two days earlier a \$30-billion package of cuts to social programs that would outstrip the planned \$300-billion increase in military spending. Said Senate majority leader Dan Dole, noting the lack of emphasis on the budget in Reagan's address: "I understand when you're going something you're not particularly proud of, you don't make that as the centerpiece of your speech." Added House Speaker Thomas (Tyr) O'Neill, "This was a night of eloquent generosity. Tomorrow he must begin to inform people of the sometimes difficult realities of the Reagan revolution."

The 20-carbon state of the union message was a vintage Reagan performance: an emotional delivery, a commitment to the conservative resolution that

he began four years ago. But, except for a major pitch for a "billion" tax reform bill this year, the speech yielded few indications of his second-term agenda. And his urgency on the tax question surprised even some Republicans, who are reluctant to act on taxes until they resolve the current budget crisis. The President, Dole explained, was attempting to force the issue onto "the front burner" despite congressional resistance. Still, Reagan will send off his second-



Reagan: taking the pain of budget-cutting directly to middle America

enable marketing skills to promote his pre-better-than-better budget proposals. Said Michael Lerner, executive director of the Ford Research and Action Center: "This is a budget that takes food away from little kids and gives it to the military." In fact, Reagan's request for \$33.7 billion to continue his defense build-up—a six-per-cent increase discounting inflation—represents a significant political risk. So, accommodate it, he has for the first time recommended cuts that strike at the heart of his middle-class constituency: student loans, medicines, farm subsidies, veterans benefits and mass transit. Said O'Neill, "It takes the pain of budget-cutting directly to middle America."

The militarist thrust in the budget

resonated through some steep foreign policy statements in the state of the union speech. Reagan reiterated his commitment to stand by "all who struggle against totalitarianism" and he added that "support for freedom fighters is self-defense"—a declaration that some conservatives interpreted as a policy doctrine to justify intervention anywhere against governments judged to be hostile. It was a stand that had frequently been advanced by Jesse Kirkpatrick, Reagan's first ambassador to the United Nations, who resigned from his cabinet on Jan. 30 last week. Reagan explained he with Gen. Vernon Walters, who had served Reagan as a first-aid shooting special envoy.

Throughout the week Reagan argued repeatedly that his military program had influenced the Soviet Union to return to arms control talks in Geneva and that it would allow him to negotiate from strength. And while Senate Republicans have already made clear that they intend to whittle away at several of the Pentagon's major strategic weapons projects—the MX missile, the B-1 bomber and the Trident submarine—will likely survive unscathed. At Senate budget committee chairman Peter Domenici pointed out last week, the Pentagon traditionally runs its demands at such a high rate that even with cutbacks, it has won 96 per cent of what it wanted over the past four years.

For all that, the President was able to present a consistently bipartisan attitude. After months of inaction, Reagan had once more regained political centre stage. In the opinion polls he has a higher rating than any chief executive since Dwight D. Eisenhower 35 years ago.

Still, few officials dismiss the urgency of the budget effort. Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker, for one, said that if Congress fails to get the full \$38 billion from the deficit, as it has undertaken to do, disillusionment in financial markets would send the economy into a deepening. With that sober reminder, even those who objected to Reagan's upbeat rhetoric expressed little disagreement with his assessment that the nation was indeed at a "time of reckoning."

—MARTY MACDONALD in Washington.



USS Buchanan: a troublesome ally will not get off 'total free'

## NEW ZEALAND

### Washington warns its allies

Suddenly, after more than three decades of smooth sailing, the defence alliance that links the United States, New Zealand and Australia was airtight in heavy seas. Following a promise made during his 1984 election campaign, New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange confirmed last week that an American destroyer—the USS Buchanan—would be denied access to his nation's ports during naval exercises scheduled for March. That decision, based on his Labour government's first articulation stance, came after Washington refused to disclose whether the conventionally powered ship would be carrying nuclear weapons. In response, the Reagan administration promptly scrapped the naval manoeuvres—Sail Stage 85—and warned that other unspecified ships were under consideration. Said US Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger: "At the moment, they are following a course that our only job of great harm to themselves."

The dispute threatened the validity of ANZUS itself—the venerable 1961 Pacific Security Treaty that is the cornerstone of U.S. defence strategies in the South Pacific. The 10-article agreement binds Washington, Wellington and Canberra in mutual defence and, while it commits none of the parties to providing port facilities for each other's ships, U.S. officials clearly regarded New Zealand's factsheet as violating the spirit of the text. Said Secretary of State George Shultz: "Those who value freedom have to be prepared to defend it."

But beyond the future of ANZUS, the Reagan administration made clear that

it wanted to head off any similar restrictions on the movement of U.S. forces by other allies—Japan, Western Europe and even Canada. Indeed, by midweek Washington's other South Pacific partner, Australia, had changed its mind about allowing American planes to use a Sydney airfield to monitor a scheduled test firing of the MX missile. U.S. officials insisted that Canberra's about-face—the result of domestic political pressure on Labor Prime Minister Robert Hawke—was not comparable to the New Zealand move. Shultz, emerging from a meeting with Hawke in Washington, said Wellington had "changed the operational character of New Zealand's participation" in ANZUS, while the Pentagon could monitor the MX test "without Australian support."

For his part, New Zealand's Lange (pronounced LONG-ee), a 41-year-old former lawyer and Methodist lay minister, mounted a passionate defence of his decision. "I have very few really burning convictions on political life," he said. "And being opposed to nuclear armaments escalation and their existence is one of them." New Zealand, he testified, wanted to remain a part of ANZUS and would welcome non-nuclear U.S. ships. Said Lange: "We are not anti-American. We are anti-nuclear. At home, that position

played to prevailing political opinion. In the 1984 election, a substantial majority of New Zealand's voters favoured candidates with anti-nuclear policies. Last week Lange's plan to keep the Buchanan off shore still, some of the nation's newspapers agreed with Australia's Hawke, who wrote to Lange saying he could not accept "that the ANZUS alliance had a different meaning and entailed different obligations for different members. Other critics said it was inconsistent to refuse entry to U.S. ships but permit New Zealand's armed forces to join ANZUS nuclear exercises."

But Wellington's attitude is not entirely new. In 1973 the government of Labour Prime Minister Norman Kirk sent a frigate to the Mururoa and Teretonga test sites to protest French nuclear explosions in the atmosphere. And last November New Zealand compensated a United Nations resolution calling for an end to all nuclear testing. Nor is Lange the first U.S. ally to resist nuclear co-operation. Five members of NATO, including Canada, Norway and Denmark, have declined to station nuclear weapons on their territory in peace-time—although Ottawa regularly appears port visits by nuclear-powered U.S. ships and contributes to American planes carrying nuclear weapons. Japan refuses port entry to ships bearing nuclear arms, but discreetly never registers about the weapons carried aboard visiting U.S. vessels. And for several months after his own 1983 election, Hawke himself adopted a Lange-like stance—refusing to let British navy ships dock in New Zealand ports and banning uranium exports to France to protest the continuing nuclear tests.

The question now is how Washington will react. Growing Hawke last week President Ronald Reagan suggested that New Zealand's action had not unravelled the ANZUS alliance. But with one eye on anti-nuclear movements elsewhere, other officials moved that such decisions could



Lange: happy news

costs have already been incurred an erosion of confidence and a loss of access to top-level intelligence. Other penalties include withholding measures to ban U.S. imports of New Zealand lamb and wool, exports of surplus butter to disrupt New Zealand's markets, and, when the three great powers finally agree to a treaty, the redefining of the ANZUS treaty itself.

—MICHAEL FORSTER, with Clarissa Draucker in San Francisco and John Mulholland in Auckland.



## The bargain-basement spies

The Indian press has dubbed them the "pink tape spies"—after the ribbons used in seal government documents. And last week, as the last of 50 suspects appeared in court on charges of espionage, Indian leaders not only of the state but also of their activities but of the long and varied list of their clients as well. The *Indian Express* reported that the government of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had expelled diplomats from the Soviet, Polish and East German embassies in New Delhi in connection with the case. The spreading scandal had already soured India's relations with France, following the ouster last month of French deputy military attaché Lt-Col Alain Boley. But on the eve of a scheduled visit by Polish leader Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, last week's revelations dealt a stunning blow to India's warm relations with the Soviet bloc.

According to court reports, the 50 suspects—11 civil servants (including one from Gandhi's own secretariat) and five businessmen—sold military, economic and diplomatic documents to foreign powers without authorization for 25 years. Most of the spies worked for bar-

gain-basement rates, often exchanging classified documents for as little as \$4 a page or a bottle of Scotch whisky. The data sold to foreign purchasers included details about virtually every state secret worth having: plans to modernize the armed forces, intelligence reports on the troubled Punjab province as well as neighboring Pakistan and Sri Lanka,

### *The suspects' testimony revealed that foreign powers have purchased every Indian state secret worth having*

and private economic forecasts.

The ring's alleged sponsor was the withdrawn of the fictional James Bond figure, Colonel Narain, a portly 57-year-old businessman, purportedly began his extraordinary career in espionage in 1959 as a lowly finance ministry stenographer. At first Narain limited his thefts to innocuous agricultural reports. But in 1980 he resigned from the civil

service and began working for a Bombay-based manufacturing conglomerate where he allegedly expanded the espionage ring. The first, late Manohar, developed business links with France, Poland, Bulgaria, Japan, Bangladesh, Czechoslovakia and West Germany and, Narain testified in court, earned hundreds of thousands of dollars selling sensitive information to overseas buyers. Company managing director Jagdish Manohar, arrested last week on charges of violating India's Official Secrets Act, has denied Narain's allegations.

Meanwhile, as red-taped intelligence officials scrambled to learn how the spy ring could operate for 24 decades without detection, Indian political analysts were evaluating the damage done to India's foreign relations. Moscow and New Delhi are linked by a 29th friendship treaty, and the Soviet Union is India's principal arms supplier—a connection Western arms exporters would like to sever. But given French involvement, any possible Western gains at the expense of Eastern Europe seem unlikely. Indeed, a state visit to Paris by Gandhi scheduled for later this year has already fallen under a cloud. And as more revelations emerge about the exploits of the pink tape spies, the diplomatic virus may yet spread to other nations. □

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Cheap Taiwanese brake pads (left); a fake Carter watch (below right) beside the real product. Billions in lost sales

## BUSINESS/ECONOMY

# The menace of bogus brands

**T**he dolls looked and felt authentic, many even bore labels identifying them as Cabbage Patch or Patsy Kato. But the thousands of inexpensive bogus copies of Calico Canada Ltd.'s phenomenally successful Cabbage Patch dolls that appeared on Canadian store shelves last December soon came to the attention of investigators at the product safety branch of the federal consumer affairs department. After receiving dozens of complaints that the dolls spelled strangeness of kerensie and caused eye irritations and skin rashes, inspectors seized thousands of the soft-cuddly dolls from store shelves. Then they discovered that most of the dolls were imported from Taiwan and that the kerensie strangeness was a result of the manufacturing process. For Calico it was another frustrating encounter with cheap imitations trying to cash in on the popularity of its hot-selling dolls. Said Suzanne Spivey, Calico's advertising manager: "Being in the toy business, we are used to this sort of thing."

Many other companies are as well. Calico encountered part of the expanding worldwide \$80-billion trade in counterfeit products—products most often made in Asian countries where copy-

right laws are either lax or nonexistent. Indeed, Canada and other Western markets have been flooded with cheap imitations of everything from Carter watches and Michael Jackson T-shirts to personal computers, records, aircraft parts and high-control pills. And when the cops finally hear the trademark of the genuine article, other counterfeit goods are sold as close copies of name-brand goods and use deceptively similar names. Western consumers can choose from such Asian-made products as Beckmeyer batteries (instead of Union Carbide Ltd.'s popular brand, Eveready) and clones of Apple computers, which are illegally made copies of Apple computer programs. But last week Western companies gained a new ally in their battle to stop the illicit tide.

At that time, the Paris-based International Chamber of Commerce (ICC), which has 7,000 member corporations and associations in 100 countries, created the

Counterfeiting Intelligence Bureau. Armed with a staff of three full-time investigators and an annual budget of \$50,000, the new bureau will attempt to track down counterfeiters for its corporate clients. Said the bureau's chief investigator Jack Hising: "A pretension of three per cent of world trade is being counterfeited. It's frightening, absolutely frightening."

The bureau's task is formidable. In the United States alone—the main target country for fake products—the International Trade Commission estimates that the influx of the goods costs legitimate companies between \$6 and \$8 billion annually. Recently August and Christmas last year, U.S. customs officials at Chicago's O'Hare airport seized more than \$1 million worth of fakes, including hot-selling products like Graco, toys that double as robots and vehicles, and Cabbage Patch dolls. For its part, the European Community (EC), which has been



calling for urgent international action to combat counterfeiting, estimates that goods with false trademarks are an issue in 60 countries. In Toronto last July, counterfeiters sold nearly \$3 million worth of bootleg Michael Jackson merchandise, ranging from T-shirts to buttons with the singer's picture on them. In West Africa, cocoa farmers lost about \$50 million worth of their crop last year as a result of ineffective counterfeit fungicide, according to a report by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the world trade body based in Geneva.

The fake-label products have increasingly become a threat to consumer safety as well as to corporate profits. Law enforcement authorities say that cheaply made or defective car parts cause particular concern. The U.S. Automobile Parts

Association representative in Kuwait discovered that June bugs were used as oil filters in Kuwaiti Toyotas. The fraud just this had been discovered in Taiwan, packaged in Europe, then sold by a Kuwait distributor as authentic filters.

As well, the aerospace industry has been flooded with low-quality fake-name parts. According to a U.S. Federal Trade Commission study, wrongly installed—and defective—"high strength" fasteners led to an widespread crash throughout the aerospace industry. At the same time, a U.S. government report last year on unfair trade practices said that 30,000 staff had discovered "dangerously substandard" counterfeit landing gear assemblies on 800 helicopters. The same report noted that Queen Elizabeth's personal helicopter had been found to contain counterfeit parts.

Consumer officials the right to seize suspected counterfeit goods. And last year Congress passed legislation making the production or sale of counterfeit goods punishable by heavy fines or jail sentences.

In Canada, federal authorities have no firm estimate of the volume of illicit goods imported annually. But the counterfeiters enjoy relatively easy access to the Canadian market. For his part, James I. Hise, president of the San Francisco coalition was highly critical of Canadian laws, which require that customs officers obtain a court order before they can seize suspected counterfeit goods. Hise said that Vancouver is a major entry point for a flow of falsely labelled goods from the Orient, many of which are then smuggled into the United States. Another problem in Canada is



Bogus Cabbage Patch dolls; counterfeit products posing a threat to public safety as well as to corporate profits

and Accessories Association estimates that its members lose \$10 billion annually because of car parts that carry the trademarks of respected suppliers but are defective—and dangerous. A popular item, falsely labelled brake linings produced in Taiwan that are held together by strands of wire instead of being permanently bonded with high-strength resin.

Last April Ontario Provincial Police seized \$200,000 worth of third car ignition parts from five distributors in the province. The distributors were unwittingly selling them as General Motors of Canada Ltd. products. Nick Hall, a GM spokesman, said that counterfeit parts cost the company about \$12 million in 1992. But product counterfeiters have also victimized car dealers in Third World countries. Last year a Toyota

fake-label goods have also made their way into the health products market. Last November, Glaxo, British pharmaceutical manufacturer G.D. Searle & Co. recalled more than a million Ovaltine birth-control pills after it discovered that an unknown group had supplied drugstores in 12 states with counterfeit pills that, at best, were 90 per cent effective. The case is still under investigation by the FBI, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration and the company's own private investigators.

The fight to curtail the illicit trade has so far been largely ineffective. But U.S. authorities have taken the most decisive action. In 1978, in response to pressure from the 280 major manufacturers who make up the San Francisco-based International Anticounterfeiting Coalition, the U.S. government gave

that penalties for copyright violations are light—the maximum fine is \$250 compared with \$250,000 in the United States.

The GATT organization's 90 members are now investigating ways of taking tougher measures to stop the flow of counterfeit products, which it describes as a growing threat to the world trade system. Said Hans Kling, secretary-general of the Paris-based ICC: "Substandard fakes, from medicines to household and electrical appliances, to spare parts in the automobile and aviation industries, spell danger for the innocent buyer." Still, the counterfeit goods trade will likely continue to thrive as long as it offers easy and huge profits for unscrupulous entrepreneurs.

JAMES FLEMING, with Robert Black in Toronto and Nancy Durham in London.

## A fatal blow for Pioneer

Their windows signs with the word "Closed" scrawled across them appeared without warning in the windows of Pioneer Trust Co.'s 11 branches across the Prairies last week. At 4 p.m. on Feb. 7, customers trying to enter outlets of the Regina-based firm suddenly found the doors locked. After 39 years in operation, Pioneer had collapsed, a victim of a stagnant western real estate market that had battered its mortgage business. The largest financial failure in Saskatchewan's history, Pioneer's demise alarmed customers who had a total of \$343 million on deposit and unnerved the province's business community. Reid Boyd Robertson, vice-president of the Royal Bank in Regina, "It is a devastating blow to the Saskatchewan economy."

Pioneer was thrown into bankruptcy after the provincial government withdrew an earlier offer to prop up the company by guaranteeing a \$35-million share issue to the public last month. Saskatchewan Premier Minister Robert Andrew sprang an agreement in private with Pioneer under which the province was to buy the shares from the public if Pioneer ran into severe financial trouble. But after examining Pioneer's books, finance officials decided the plan was unrealistic. Declared Andrew last week, "It became evident that to proceed with the guarantee would not be in the best interest of the people of Saskatchewan."

Most of Pioneer's deposits are protected by the Canada Deposit Insurance Corp., a federal agency that insures individual's bank and trust deposits up to \$60,000. Still, 1,200 depositors had a total of \$24 million in accounts outstanding more than \$60,000. One of those customers, the Saskatchewan government, which could lose from \$5 to \$4 million, according to Andrew. Uninsured funds can only be recovered when Pioneer's assets are sold.

For the Conservative government of Premier Grant Devine, the collapse of Pioneer was a political embarrassment. Pioneer's parent, Canadian Pioneer Management Ltd. (CPM) of Regina—president William Kluge is a prominent provincial Tory—was to be proof of Devine's contention that aggressive private enterprise can be successful in Saskatchewan. Although CPM's other subsidiaries, including an insurance firm, remain secure, Pioneer's collapse tarnished the company's once shining image. *Staff Writer, The Star Weekly, Regina, Saskatchewan.*

—JAMES FLANNERY, with John Miller in Regina.



Macdonald: a four-hour signing marathon, hectic negotiations and a reprieve

## A new deal for Dome Petroleum

The marathon session took place last week in three sprawling suites of Toronto's Royal York Hotel. After months of hectic negotiations, 300 lawyers, accountants and executives representing Dome Petroleum Ltd. and 96 of its creditors assembled to endorse an agreement on the financial future of the Calgary-based energy firm. It took the participants four hours to sign hundreds of documents, but when the process was over Dome officials were pleased. The creditors, including four of Canada's largest banks, had agreed to a plan to restructure \$3.3 billion of the company's \$6.1-billion debt load over a 15-year period. They had also waived an earlier demand that Dome issue \$300 million in new shares by Feb. 6 to raise funds for its depleted coffers. Declared Dome chairman J. Howard Macdonald, "At last we will be able to manage the company instead of spending most of our time trying to restructure the debt."

For Macdonald, a 56-year-old Scottish-born accountant, the signing marked a major victory in his efforts to pay Dome back on a record financial footing. Formerly the treasurer of the London-based Royal Dutch/Shell Group, Macdonald joined Dome on a five-year contract in October, 1983. He found a company facing a financial crisis as a result of an aggressive acquisition binge that had left it with a \$7-billion debt load. He immediately began to devise a plan to replace a bailout agreement that the company had signed with its bank—where it also had lost its primary credit line—in 1980, that would have given them 50 per-cent ownership of Dome.

As part of that arrangement, the federal government was to give Dome a \$300-million loan guarantee.

Determined to avoid that plan, Macdonald and his aides began a secret campaign to strike a more palatable accord. In August, 1984, he succeeded in obtaining a tentative agreement from Dome's North American bankers for last week's 12-year restructuring pact. Initially, the bankers attached an important condition to the accord: they would only give final approval to the deal if Dome made a \$300-million share issue to the public. But last fall, as stock markets entered a stagflation phase (before rebounding early this year) and a worldwide decline in oil prices made energy company shares less attractive, Dome began to back away from its plan to launch a share issue. Dome finally succeeded in pleading with its creditors to sign the accord without it.

Under last week's plan Dome will give \$27 million in shares to the banks to pay their restructuring fees. As well, Dome will issue another \$100 million in common shares by late 1985 to shore up its capital base. Ultimately, the banks recognized that it was in their own interest not to push the company into bankruptcy—an event that would have shaken Canada's entire banking system. Macdonald admits that Dome's future success now rests on the vagaries of the oil market and the unpredictable course of interest rates—each one-per-cent drop in the prime rate saves Dome \$52 million. But, provided there are no dramatic financial problems, he declared, "We are back on the road to profitability."

—GILLIAN BYRNE

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After four months of commuting from his home in Ottawa to Toronto, where he has been a visiting professor at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, Thomas Axworthy, 37, former principal secretary to Pierre Trudeau, says he has decided to leave Canada indefinitely. Axworthy will take over the William Lyon Mackenzie King Chair in Canadian Studies, a permanent professorship at Harvard established in 1967 by the Canada Council to honor King, who was Canadian Prime Minister three times before he died in 1968. Since Trudeau resigned as Prime Minister last February, Axworthy has been writing for *The Toronto Star* and giving his Ottawa-based consulting firm off the ground. Harvard has never had a Canadian specialist in the chair for longer than a year. Axworthy has not revealed how long he will remain an expatriate, but he recently told his students: "Old Liberals never die—they just end up at the Kennedy School." Not in his case. Effective July 1, the King chair will be part of Harvard's faculty of arts and sciences.

Canadian actor Duncan Regehr, 31, says that "it was great fun" portraying *First Wives* in *My Friend, Wedge*, a television movie about *First Wives*' Hollywood career, which aired on Jan. 31. Asked by producer Doris Keating to consider playing Flynn again



Regehr: as *Wedge* to do two things at once

Regehr: landscapes and smoochbacklog



planning to proceed from the *First Wives* success with one. Regehr says he has rejected all of the offers for future TV movies which he received after his performance in *Wedge*. He also claims that his "second career" as a painter keeps him busy. The six-foot, five-inch actor is a professional artist who became known as a portrait painter in the 1970s. Now based in Hollywood, the Victoria, B.C., native says that he is working on geographical landscapes in oils while he plans his future. "If we are going to do a project in *Wedge*," he said, "we had better do it soon. I am not getting any younger."

Edmonton-born actress Wanda Melanson, 36, said last week that she is finishing work in the TV movie *Shark*, preparing her income tax forms—and waiting for her phone to ring in Los Angeles, where, she added, "just opening your eyes in the morning and seeing

the sun in the middle of February is fun." Melanson took the transatlantic Canadian route from her home town in Toronto and then to New York and Los Angeles. She studied at the Toronto Dance Theatre in the late 1970s but quickly moved to Theatre Passe Muraille after two members of its company, Booth Savage and Hrant Alanak, stopped her on the street with the claim, "You ought to be in plays." Melanson did "lots and passed" in New York, including a part in the movie *Humping*, with Patrick Duffy. She, after a year in Los Angeles, where she performed in a stage production of *Twelve* for six months, picked up a recurring role in *Wings* Landing and played the daughter of Clark Van Dyke and Cloris Leachman in the movie *Brought with Us* (scheduled to air on film on Mar. 11). Melanson says she has learned how to do two things at once. She explained, "I can count my money and wait for the phone to ring at the same time."

Behind the smiling face of Paul Newman, 68, Newman's Own products (sauced dressing, spaghetti sauce and popping corn, whose profits all go to charity) have a new *Casualties* threat. Newman's Own Industrial Strength Venetian Roughetti Sauce, which has never before been distributed in Canada, is now secured and bottled at Melman Enterprises in Mississauga, Ont. Harvey Leibel, who had been Newman's Canadian distributor of sauced dressing alike, said

Melman shipped the first 14,000 jars of made-in-Canada sauce three weeks ago. Leibel said he, Newman and his partner, biographer and novelist A.E. Hotchner, were happy "to create a few jobs" but consumers with less gusto for his task in conforming to Canadian labelling laws are giving "the intricacies of producing labels in English and French, metric and imperial."

—WRITTEN BY BETTE LADENBERG

Newman: pasta sauce



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# The artists fight the cuts

By Mark Czarnecki

**I**n a whirl of outcries and discontent, many frustrated Canadians who work in the arts are struggling to cope with Canada's frosty cultural climate. In Toronto, CBC's Don Canning, who produced last week's profile of Nobel Peace Prize winner Barbra Streisand, is looking for a new job—as are 700 other CBC employees recently laid off in Halifax, where artist John Greer, finding reduced income from teaching at the Nova Scotia School of Art and Design, is devising alternative ways to raise money for the three tons of cast iron he needs for a new sculpture. And in Montreal, the stage of the Théâtre du Nouveau Monde, the province's cultural flagship, remains dark. The immediate cause of all these problems: slashed arts budgets in the provinces and in Ottawa, where the federal government last November cut cultural funding twice as deeply as in other economic sectors.

But new artists, traditionally a non-conformist group, are mobilizing to defend Canadian culture. Since January they have organized a series of meetings and rallies which will culminate in Arts Day, on March 30 at Parliament Hill. This week the Friends of Public Broadcasting, a national coalition of academics, performers, church and business leaders, politicians and others, will launch a campaign of full-page advertisements in newspaper outlining their concerns about the CBC cutbacks and broadcasting in general. Meanwhile, lobbyists are petitioning the department of communications (DOC) with statistics which they say prove that the arts receive support as partly economic products. Statistics Canada ranks the arts-related industries as the country's 11th largest manufacturing sector, with revenues of more than \$7 billion. Sparking the overall revolt was an emotional rally in Halifax in late January against the loss of more than 1,000 arts supporters.

Said Henry Sperling, director of the Mount St. Vincent University Art Gallery and an organizer of the rally: "We are in a cultural life-threatening situation in Nova Scotia. And what threatens Nova Scotia threatens Canada."

The protests came at a crucial time for the nation's arts. In 1988 the Applebaum-Hilbert report concluded that Canadian cultural institutions needed not just a new policy but a lot more money to

survive. But since what is widely called "Applebaum," Ottawa cultural policymakers have tried to develop new ideas in the middle of a power struggle between the DOC and the federal culture agencies—including the CBC, the Canada Council and the National Film Board.



Masse, a determination to join the big fish

(NFB)—over the agencies' autonomy. This year the government will direct \$1.2 billion to the agencies. Traditionally it has given grants to "arm's length," with the agencies retaining control over the funds. But the methodology that the new minister of communications, Marcel Masse, applied in directing the cutbacks have sharpened the debate on what "arm's length" means. At the same time, Masse is pressuring his department to deliver policy papers as quickly as possible. Said David F. Nelson, assistant deputy minister for cultural affairs: "We are laying the foundations for cultural policy into

the 21st century."

The previous Liberal government had already determined policies for film and broadcasting, but since Masse took office these policies have been thrown into question. The December cutbacks slashed an overall \$132-million loss to the

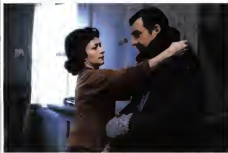
CBC's budget, which makes it impossible for the corporation to fulfil its sweeping mandate to be all things to all Canadians. The CBC has also been an active participant in Telefilm Canada's film production fund which enables independent film producers with a distribution commitment from a broadcaster to produce quality Canadian films and TV programs. But in response to the cutbacks, the CBC withdrew from the fund and is no longer endorsing the industry. Said independent producer Michael McClellan, of Atlantic Films, which won an Academy award in 1987 and with the National Film Board—has been nominated again this year for *The Painted Door*: "It is like oxygen to the brain—oxygen isn't just torn off for a few minutes. Producers will go belly up or leave the business."

With his predecessors' policies thrown into disarray, Masse is setting up the machinery to suggest new directions. In December the minister announced what he called a "fundamental review" of the CBC, calling for a Green Paper by summer and a White Paper at a later date. Last week, speaking in Washington to Opera America's annual conference, he also said he was considering creating tax incentives to encourage donations to the arts from individuals and corporations. But meanwhile, he and his department are still searching for new ways to save the broadcast fund.

For many artists, the basic issue—common to both saving the fund and challenging the cutbacks—is how much

the government, and Canadians, are willing to invest in keeping Canadian culture alive. Canada is still far behind most countries in Europe in subsidizing culture, in West Germany some levels of government subsidize 80 to 85 per cent of the performing arts. By contrast, the Stratford Festival in Ontario receives only 15 per cent of its budget from subsidy. Said Mark Blumfield, CBC TV executive producer and master of the acclaimed *Angry Joe*, series: "We must determine whether we want a robust culture. Decide, but don't nibble as to death."

Masse's reply to these recommendations



Scene from Atlantic Film's *The Painted Door*: "you can't just turn off oxygen to the brain"

tion was that the cultural agencies must trim their administrative fat first. Formerly vice-president of marketing and communications at the giant Montreal engineering firm of Lavallée Inc., Masse echoed the private sector belief that the public sector is inefficient, commenting on the CBC on an interview with *Macleod's*, Masse said, "The taxpayer should not pay for the CBC's inability to compete with private broadcasters." At the same time, citing the recommendations of the Applebaum-Hilbert report, he says he wants film and TV production shifted to the private sector and has already approved in principle a second private franchisee network for Quebec.

But Masse has done more than challenge the efficiency of CBC management. His other policy moves indicate a major shift in the power structure of cultural funding, away from the cultural agencies and towards the DOC's own funding programs. Said the former chairman of the Canada Council, Marie Moore:

"There is evidence that the cultural division of the DOC intends to radically reduce the power of the Canada Council. Masse has never had experience with art's length—in Quebec, cultural patronage has been the order of the day." Meanwhile, Bill C-88, an omnibus bill to amend broadcasting legislation which is currently before the House, will give Masse full power to issue policy directives to the CBC.

But Masse is much more than a management-minded politician—in fact, his personal background in culture is almost unique among Canada's recent federal and provincial cultural minis-

try. Originally a history teacher, Masse co-edited the *Johns*, Quebec-based Lacadivie summer music festival and has served on the boards of the Montreal Symphony Orchestra and the Théâtre du Nouveau Monde. His tastes are corporate, metropolitan and classical, unlike the grassroots nationalism that has provided in both Quebec and English Canada over the past two decades. Said Masse: "A culture which is too concerned with nationalism will disappear. Nationalism may provide protection for a while, but nationalism is like a virus—eventually the culture falls ill and withers away."

Apart from Masse's expressed desire to clear bureaucratic channels in order to give "more la-

ministrative cuts, and CBC president Pierre Tardieu had agreed to the directive. Said John F. Tardieu, an argument is used against the CBC, we must get rid of that so we have the confidence of the government, Parliament and the people that we are giving them the best money we can get." But the \$75-million operating-budget cuts shook the corporation to its creative roots, forcing out more than 400 production staff.

But the cuts outside Central Canada generated serious ripple effects. Said Toronto-based communications consultant Laurie Edwards: "The economic impact is the real one. It's not just people often can't get by without the one-third of their income that

Sparking "wrecking"



comes from the cbc?" For his part, Joe Washburn, conductor of the Vancouver Chamber Choir, stresses the importance of cbc support for performance fees, broadcast assistance and recording. Said Washburn: "The choir can't tour, so they rely on those recordings to build their reputation."

Meanwhile, the immediate effects of

vice-president for English language TV Dena Harvey refused to comment on individual cases.

Given the cbc's weak response to the cutbacks, many producers wonder about the future of these areas of programming, including investigative documentaries, which might be politically sensitive. Said Hall's media producer Vance

These trends leave many documentary film-makers facing a daunting market—except for *Tellico*, which is considering adding that category to its drama, children's programming and variety mandate. Among other possible solutions to the problem of *Tellico*'s frozen funds which Masse and his consultants have discussed is launching

joint film ventures between the cbc and *Tellico* directly. But for documentary film-makers, the involvement of the cbc in programming would be an unusual precedent—and would mark a clear shift toward intervention in the creative waters of the arts community.

The cbc's idea of funding its own arts initiatives can sometimes take the effect of undermining the Canada Council. Masse's proposal to establish new dance troupes—because the big three companies, Les Grands Ballets Canadiens, the National Ballet of Canada and the Royal Winnipeg Ballet offer limited employment opportunities—is a suggestion which involves a sensitive issue in Canada's dance community. Although the council funds modern dance companies, it has discouraged the growth of

more classical troupes. Among those it has rejected for an operating grant is the popular Ballet de Montreal. Edy Tasseroni, whose choreographer, Rody Tasseroni, has been developing his own style of classical ballet—and who last summer won a gold medal at a prestigious international competition in Helsinki, still, the council has notified him that the cancellation of the 20th anniversary of the 20th anniversary who have served at various times as dance sector assessors over the years has been to deny

his recommendations for a grant. Tasseroni questions the integrity of the jury selection and says that he believes that the source of the problem is discrimination against his professional, often male-dominated choreography, which he claims is not in favor with the big three companies



Scenes from *Blindfold's* CBC miniseries *Act, English, Lie: 'Decide, but don't nibble as to death'*

the cutbacks for viewers seem slight, but changes in the nature of programming will appear in the coming season: the diminished producers include many who contributed in-depth journalism to such programs as *Marketplace* and *News At Six*.

One of those who initially received a redundancy notice was producer Peter Kappela, a 26-year veteran whose position was cut from *Marketplace*—a popular investigative program which has been chronically underfunded with six producers to co-ordinate research-intensive items on consumer issues. As president of the producers' association from 1978 to 1984, Kappela supervised the preparation of the producers' programming document, *A New Beginning*. Said Kappela: "We just wanted to be part of the dialogue, but management would not even discuss it." But when the final liquidation was sent out late last month, Kappela—who had publicly expressed his dissatisfaction over the cbc's handling of the redundancy notice—found that he had been released. When interviewed by *Maclean's*, cbc

Frederick: "There has been some reaction in the corporation to change cbc's left-wing image." But according to Paul Wright, an executive producer who helps outside documentaries for broadcast on the cbc: "The whole investigative thing came along as a phase of

journalism—it represented a shift in style, not a fundamental change in journalism itself." That attitude has especially hurt the *NR*, a major supplier of documentaries to the cbc and producer of the 1980 Oscar-winning short, *Of Two Laws This Planet*—which was rejected along with five other controversial documentaries that the *NR* had either coproduced with the cbc or sold to be broadcast. *Of Two Laws This Planet* was later broadcast on *The Journal*.

Portrait: new curve



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and their supporters.

The Tassanart case touches on a raw nerve for the Canada Council. Because there are often conflicting opinions about the quality of an artist's work, many critics say that a jury system seems a good way to solve them—as long as artists believe it is unbiased. A prerequisite for the council is to struggle to get more arts funding and retain it even against the odds—to maintain the artists' trust. In order to bolster that trust, some council officers say that efforts and kinds of sectors should serve limited terms to prevent favoritism and bureaucratic entrenchment and keep perspectives open. Both Monique Mitchell, head of the dance sector, and Nam Kattian, head of the writing and publication sectors, have worked in their departments for nearly 20 years. But administrative changes at the council appear unlikely. When Masse told the council to cut \$56 million from its \$84-million budget last November, council director Trevor Porter said off only \$11 million—



Sculptor Green culture is in a life-threatening situation

and a fund-raising consultant who had helped arts organizations raise much-needed money from the private sector. Also cut was the Maritime regional office—a major institution in the January demonstration in Halifax.

As the cultural institutions in Ottawa cope with simultaneous cutbacks and shifting power alignments, the arts community is debating how to cope with the cuts and the politics. The Canadian Conference of the Arts (CCA), the country's largest arts lobby group, favors protesting culture's economic importance and popularity. "We're not going to let the government cut the arts," says CCA's president, Carle Barlow. "First we have to present the economic arguments and then convince them of culture's absolute value."

Politicians were willing to accept the economic approach, but Ontario Premier Frank Miller

took the argument to its logical extreme when he said before his Jan. 28 leadership victory that cultural affairs should be included entirely under tourism. Faced with that response, artists feel that too much emphasis on economics will obscure arguments for culture as a value for itself. Toronto playwright and entertainment critic Rick Salutin, noting that most of the employees in arts manufacturing are bureaucrats, not artists, favors grassroots action. Said Salutin: "Artists should do their own lobbying—otherwise they get used to having it done for them."

But whatever the sources of money or the means of distributing it, the coming debate will focus on that mark of self-interest: the value of culture as an artist's work.

—Masse himself says

popularity should be one of the criteria. "Frequently essential fundamental differences about what culture really is. Masse wants other federal departments to become involved in cultural funding, and his internationalist perspective on the arts favors marketing Canadian cultural products overseas, rather than emphasizing a nationalistic approach to the arts. But Masse Moore says he believes that nationalism does not apply to culture. Said Moore: "Nationalism is a misnomer for the artist who rightly wants to reach universality through his own roots and not take someone else's."

Still, individualism is the rallying cry that has again roused some of the most powerful voices in Canadian culture. Said author Peter G. Newman: "The arts give society its voice—there is a very strong feeling now that we should be defining Canadian culture and society." Similar views appeared in the Appleton report, which Masse has mentioned with approval. But newspaper Louis Applebaum, whose committee wrote the report, says that Masse's intentions to shift the emphasis in broadcasting from the public to the private sector misconstrued that document. Said Applebaum: "The government is talking about implementing my report but they don't really understand all its implications."

Masse's public support for the arts is widespread: a survey for the 1994 Maclean's Committee on the Arts in Ontario said that 77 per cent of those polled were willing to accept a tax increase of 5 to 10 per cent to support the arts. But the crossroads at which Canadian culture has arrived is already crowded. In Britain, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government bypassed the recommendations of a government report which recommended increased funding for the arts, instead cutting back the budget of the National Theatre in January. In the United States, President Ronald Reagan announced last week 11.5-per-cent reduction in the budget of the National Endowment for the Arts. And in Canada, Marcel Masson, "as friends used to call Masse when he returns to his place after a hard day of political campaigning, faces an influx of desperate artists about the arts and culture. What he decides will become law. Masse moved to Ottawa, Masse has given up the keyboard. He says, "I don't play the game any more—I only peek in at the politics." Although artists are eager to listen, underneath the disarray of the current debate, his main themes still elude them.

With Gregory Peck in *Witness*, George Clooney in *Swimming With Sharks* in *Edmonton*, Stephen Rea in *Calgary*, Angus Macfadyen in *Toronto*, Brian Wilson in *Montreal* and Perry Anderson in *Halifax*.



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# High-cut suits designed for sunshine fun

By Marilyn Linton

Shows hosted the palm trees outside Mario Carli's luxurious Loran Hotel last month, but the rare Mediterranean snowfall did not discourage 1,500 swimsuit buyers and designers determined to select the designs and fabrics most likely to turn heads at summer beaches and winter resorts this year. The consensus among the five Canadians attending a trend-setting Monaco trade fair: fashions will prevail over function with one-piece swimsuits most in demand. Declared Sue Harper, a designer for Sea Queen, a Toronto swimsuit manufacturer: "This year and next the design of the swimsuit will have the new emphasis. The swimsuit has become legitimate fashion and not just a functional garment."

To that end, such established clothes designers as Yves St. Laurent, Oscar de la Renta and Norma Kamali are producing swimsuits priced between \$85 and \$185. Before the advent of designers with established reputations in other clothes lines during the past five years, Canadian retailers usually sold about three million suits to women each year, with most costumes ranging in price between \$40 and \$65. Now, many merchants contend that women who normally buy one bathing suit every five years will purchase the higher-priced designers' offerings. Declared Candice Singer, sportswear buyer at Cusco's designer specialty store in Toronto: "People want fashion in swim wear, and the designers are providing it."

The one-piece suits come in a variety of styles, fabrics and colors but most have one feature in common: they are cut high on the thigh in a style that makes legs appear longer. But June Taylor, the owner of Bermuda Western, a Toronto swim wear specialty store, declared that the latest fashions might not appeal to everyone. Said Taylor: "The new look, same with the thighs cut almost to the navel is fine, but only on a perfect body."

The suits displayed at the Mario Carli show suggest that the trend to plunging necklines will continue next year. But making the most of the style requires more than a well-toned physique. Warned De Post Canada Inc. marketing specialist Ronald Wright in Montreal: "Any woman who is affected by chlorine and midder over time." His advice for the fashion-conscious is to handle the new-look swimsuits with



Sea Queen suit (above), Giffen design: trend file



Skirt, swimsuit, by Norma Kamali: "Fashion, not just a functional garment"



Map of the world by La Perla: the style requires more than a well-toned physique

# The CBC and the politics of hunger

By George Bain

How unilaterally politicized. Here was *The Journal* with a hot documentary saying that the Ethiopian government was deliberately withholding food from the starving for political reasons, and United Nations agencies had kept a constitutional silence. Still, the program was concerned with famine and not with self-defence. But, like duty, show its is a hard matter, so before the documentary *The Politics of Starvation* ran, reporter Terence McKenna was harried around regional news programs to promote the show and maximize the audience.

In Toronto, *The Politics of Starvation* was answered by Harry S. Black, executive director of UNICEF, that he delivered a letter to the CBC the next day denouncing his "biased and irresponsible report." One of seven points made by Mr. Black was that, even in Toronto, as recently as November, a UNICEF press conference attended by our perennial bad client extensively with problems in Eritrea and Tigray, the areas primarily referred to in the documentary as deliberately deprived. He also said: "The war in Ethiopia is not the worst of the humanitarian crises (more difficult). In any war, there are two sides. I find it questionable that the CBC is so uncritical of the other side since it would seem they, too, are part of the problem. Do they not have a political agenda?"

Readily, John Goffrey, president of the University of King's College and recently in Ethiopia for the new Halifax-based Ethiopian Relief, said: "McKenna says it is the government that prevents food from getting through to the rebel-held provinces. At least one international aid agency... says that they can't get their trucks through because the rebels mine the roads."

Questions such as the effect of the civil war itself on the distribution of food, without the assistance of there being any political policy at work, get short shrift in *The Politics of Starvation*. In her introduction, host Barbara Frum set the tone with the flat assertion that "the US agencies have remained silent about the intentional starvation." Reporters McKenna and Black were equally black-and-white. In the past three years, since the famine began, food has been deliberately withheld... mostly by the government of Ethiopia,

which leveling food as a weapon in a vicious civil war."

Among the points ignored here were that food deliberately has not been withheld, although hardly anyone who knows argues that it has been distributed equally in all parts. Both Griffin, spokesman in New York for the Catholic Relief Services, which has been in Ethiopia for 18 years, says that 40 to 50 per cent of her organization's food aid to the country is distributed in Eritrea and Tigray, at centres in government-held locations. But are people sometimes driven away by the government if they lack the right credentials, as alleged in *The Politics of Starvation*? "We have also heard that in these same areas it has been the separatist forces who have tried to prevent those same people from getting to the same centres," she said.

The International Committee of the Red Cross, which is in different circumstances from church organizations and even its agencies because it has a mandate to operate in war situations, nevertheless progresses that the war itself makes distribution difficult. "The war," said Michelle Bernier, head of the committee's press division in Geneva, "is as much a victim of the (war) but one has not reached all yet because it is very difficult to go everywhere."

A director of a worldwide humanitarian agency, called the allegation of a TV cover-up "really nonsense." He concluded, however, that the UN lacked "dynamic approach" that would have brought the Ethiopian famine to world attention before television did. But he did not accept the proposition that the Ethiopian government prevented food from going to rebel-held areas. "I think it is a fair statement that the government is also involved in this," he said, "and that they are making the roads unsafe." He attributed the failure to come to arrangements for safe passage of food convoys to the political impasse between government and rebels—very much as between the PLO and Israel—the one demanding recognition, the other prepared to grant it.

*The Politics of Starvation* presented essentially a viewpoint—that of persons sympathetic to the rebel side. With its breathtaking thesis—international conspiracy to cover up genocide—*The Politics of Starvation* was not, however, presented as viewpoint, but as demonstrable, objective truth. It wasn't.

## HEALTH

# A new life for Lindsay

Lindsay Eberhart, the 26-year-old from Milton, Ont., began a new life after a successful liver transplant operation last week when she finished without a respiratory and moved off the critical list at The Children's Hospital in Boston. Since her birth she has endured the ravages of biliary atresia, a rare liver disease which usually claims its victims before they are two years old. But Lindsay survived—although life built up in her liver, yellowed her skin and slowed her growth. Then, after she had spent more than a year on a waiting list, her father, James Eberhart, 55, and his wife, Christine, 52, learned that a transplant was available. The family flew from their home near Toronto for a 12½-hour operation the next day. Declared James Eberhart: "April 21, 1992, was the day Lindsay was born, but Feb. 2, 1990, is the day she started living."

The knowledge that another child had to die before Lindsay could receive a second chance put a damper on the family's celebration. And three days after the operation, as Lindsay called out to her mother for the first time since the underweight surgery, three-year-old Melissa Carman was located in a waiting room nearby. The boy had died of head injuries suffered in a Feb. 8 car accident and her parents decided to donate her liver—a decision that gave a healthy new organ to a girl who would have died without it. Still, hospital spokesmen warned that Lindsay's body could reject the transplanted tissue only 60 to 70 per cent of all liver transplant patients manage to live longer than one year after the risky operation.

To help her survive, the 55-lb. infant will get daily doses of cyclosporin, an antirejection drug that costs at least \$1,000 every three weeks. But Lindsay's parents will be spared that expense because the Ontario Medicare scheme will cover her continuing drug needs. The province will also pay for the operation and hospital care in Boston—a bill that could reach \$200,000—because similar treatment is not available in Ontario. Within one year, however, the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto plans to become the severest hospital in North America performing organ transplants on infants—offering fresh hope that children like Lindsay can have a second run at life.

—DAN QUINN



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# Unleashing a cyclone

CENTERFIELD

John Fogerty  
(1984)

In the late 1960s Creedence Clearwater Revival created some of rock music's most distinctive sounds when it seamlessly stitched together country-rock tunes and the lyrical flavor of Delta blues. That sound, best characterized by a twangy guitar and gritty vocals, returns on *Centerfield*. Creedence co-founder John Fogerty's first album in more than a decade. Decca's of the band's influential style will undoubtedly find much of the album first-year selling. *Rock and Roll Girls*, with its playful plucking and giddy yodelling, exhibits a refreshing abandon, and Fogerty's love on the tougher *Mr. Good* gives the consistency of the songwriter's social conscience. But other songs, including the title track and *The Old Man Down the Road*, which shamelessly copies the Creedence classic *Ain't Through the Jungle*, are reminiscent of nostalgic. Only on the sensitive ballad *I Saw It On TV* does Fogerty put



Moyet, gifted vocals, emotional depth

his past into relevant form when he sings, "The A-bomb from America had sure tasted in my heart." In three gritty lines Fogerty manages to distill the complex reality of the TV generation into the same universal feelings that Creedence once mined as well in song.

ALF  
Moyet  
(1985)

As the mouthful singer in the British singer-songwriter band Ysa, Alf Moyet—nicknamed *Alf*—made even the starkest electronic arrangements sound warm and richly human. On her confident solo debut album, *Alf Moyet*, unleashes a vocal cyclone: her gifted voice is capable of purring softly and moaning and searing screaming heights the next. *Alf* Creel (not necessarily Moyet's wife, as previous songs and *Love Remembrance* reveals her affinity with 1960s Motown female), written for her by the veteran Motown songwriter Lamont Dozier (a lyricist for The Supremes), displays the raw power of her contralto. Even *Where Helen Sleeps*, a gothic tale of refuge, reveals a stirring crescendo as Moyet sings of the need to be "carried by oblivion and swallowed by dreams." With such emotional depth, Moyet is casting some much-needed passion into pop singing. —MICHAEL JENSEN

## BOOKS

## Second fiddle to politics

ECONOMICS IN THE REAL WORLD

By Leonard Silk  
(General Publishing, 296 pages, \$14.95)

Elaborating on his own title, Leonard Silk declares in his new book, "Economics in the real world plays second fiddle to politics." With that theme the veteran economist columnist of *The New York Times* sets out to describe how political decisions affect the economy. He succeeds magnificently: his is a highly readable account of some extremely confused times. Silk focuses on the United States since 1962, a period spanning the Vietnam War, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) oil embargo, the switch to the floating dollar, inflation combined with unemployment and declining growth rates of the 1970s and the Reagan administration's attempts to break the back of that phenomenon.

One of the book's principal points is that there is a rhythm to economic decision-making in the United States that takes its beat from election years. Statistics show that the annual change in

real disposable income per capita during these years in which presidents were seeking re-election was significantly higher than in other years. That is, presidents seek to time economic moves to coincide with their reelection campaigns.

Unfortunately, that sort of timing is treacherous. Short-term gains for election purposes can mean long-term pain. Silk accepts the fact that political motivations are bound to be important and he condemns economic theories that always need just a little more time to work. But for the most part, his book is a plea for a more balanced approach. Politicians subordinate major economic decisions to immediate political advantage at their peril, he declares.

The book is full of examples of why those decisions ultimately endanger citizens. The inflation that plagued the

West for so many years stemmed from then-President Lyndon Johnson's desire to pursue Great Society's New Economic Policy of 1971 made a bad situation worse by concealing a stimulative fiscal and monetary rate to ensure his reelection in 1972, which ultimately resulted in crippling inflation. During his abbreviated second term, Bill Clinton's Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter tried to practice fiscal prudence, they suffered defeat partly because of those policies. Ronald Reagan knew better: he let Walter Mondale propose a tax increase and saved his tough talk about deficits until after he had won.

The author credits Reagan with great political skills and daring. However, his final recommendations—including less military spending and an acceptance of a mixed economy independent with the rest of the world—are not much akin to Reagan's. Silk reserves judgment on the final outcome of Reagan's policies. But, based on the wisdom packed into this little volume, the next incumbent will be worth the wait. —GEOFFREY WICK



Silk, confident lines

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# A voice in the darkness

SEVEN NIGHTS

By Jorge Luis Borges  
Translated by Eliot Weinberger  
(Penguin, 121 pages, \$16.95)

Shortly after Juan Domingo Perón became president of Argentina in 1946, he removed Jorge Luis Borges, who strongly opposed Perón's fascist policies, from his post as director of a small municipal library and appointed

him district inspector of abortions and rabbits in the public markets. The result had at least one fortunate consequence for Borges, who was beginning to gain recognition as Argentina's finest writer. His dignity forced him to find another job, the former librarian was invited to give a series of talks at a Buenos Aires college and began what was to become a life-long career of lecturing. Borges, who is extremely shy, once told the Ar-

gentine newspaper *El Obrero* that he thought of his first lecture as "Doomsday, feeling 'that only sterility could come after.'" *Seven Nights*, a transcription of a series of 1977 lectures which has now been translated from Spanish, shows how Borges has conquered his initial reticence and mastered the form.

As reflected in the collection's title, the lectures took place in the evenings, and some deal with nocturnal subjects. *Nightmares*, *The Thousand and One Nights*, *Blindness*. Others explore the dark night of the soul: *The Divine Comedy*, *Bohemia*, *Poetry* and *The Wabbler*. Each lecture is an exercise in intelligence, a demonstration of the talent of the human brain when set to sleep at an idea like a jeweller at a diamond. Borges, who in his written prose has polished and refined the Spanish language more than any other modern writer, has added to his oral essays the more intimate quality of dialogue. In a 1985 interview he confessed, "Because my blinders diminish me the vision of the audience, I imagine one face in front of me and talk to that one person when I lecture." So engaging is Borges' voice that in *Seven Nights* the reader tends to feel as if he were alone with that individual face.

The lecture on blindness is the most personal. The affliction came to Borges himself gradually and astringently. He described it in his *Autobiography*: "That slow nightfall, that slow loss of sight, began when I began to see." In 1955, when night had been completely, Perón's successors appointed him director of the Argentine National Library. In his lecture on blindness he reveals the strength of his ethical beliefs. "A writer, or any man, must believe that whatever happens to him is an instrument, everything has been given for an end."

In *Blindness* and all the others, Borges' lectures always deliver more than the title promises. *The Thousand and One Nights* is not only about the classic Oriental tales but also about magic and hidden literary treasures. *Poetry*, which deals with the nature of the sonnet, also touches on the different ways of the Spanish and English languages. *And Bohemia* is about Baudelaire's life but also explores the charm of the narrative art and its relation to dreams.

*Seven Nights* is both a splendid introduction to Borges and one of his best books of essays. Eliot Weinberger's translation does justice to the fluidity of the original, and Alexander Lind's introduction gives a fine flavor of "the spoken Borges." *Seven Nights* brings Borges' voice to life, his amazing systems of thought, his generous wisdom, but above all his wondrous ability to see the poetic core of the world.

—ALEXANDER LIND

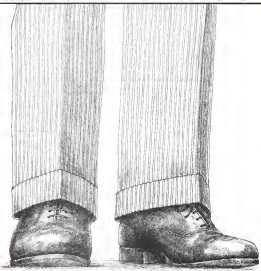


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# Destroying the myths about massage

By Ann Walmsley

**I**n Souter, a 35-year-old technician, had been quarrelling with his employer at an Ottawa high-tech electronics firm so often that he became alternately angry and tense. He also suffered from a chronic upset stomach. Then, six months ago Souter remembered that a massage he had undergone had given him great relief from stress. As a result, he began undergoing regular treatments at several registered massage clinics. Now, Souter has changed jobs, his stomach feels better, and he is more relaxed.

Souter is one of thousands of Canadians—most of them in Ontario and British Columbia—who have begun to use massage to function more effectively. Said Souter: "It allowed me to cope with people without exploding into anger. It is better than a two-week holiday." The willingness of growing numbers of Canadians to shed their inhibitions he naked on a no-dress-by-two-dot table and submit to a stranger's touch is the result of a growing conviction that massage produces positive results.

That new acceptance is in marked contrast to massage's earlier, shady reputation when, unlike in Europe where it has a long and honorable tradition, most North Americans associated the practice with sleazy body rub parlors or morose awareness groups. But in the past decade, the boom in stress and anti-stress programs in Canada and the United States has created an unprecedented demand for registered massage therapists skilled in manipulating sore muscles, treating athletic injuries and encouraging relaxation. As a result, in Ontario and British Columbia the number of provincially approved schools has grown in the past 10 years to four from one, and the number of legitimate massage therapists across Canada who have passed provincial government exams has jumped to 3,000 from 350.

The movement to the massage table is not as noticeable in the rest of the country: there are only five registered massage therapists in Ontario and only six in the

Prague province. Still, Ann Ruchelstein, a Toronto massage therapist, says that she is convinced that the practice's increasing popularity in Ontario fore-shadows widespread acceptance across the country. Declared Ruchelstein: "In particular Ontario, I teach people."

Ruchelstein uses two different styles of massage. The most common method, and the one she most frequently uses, is

if their doctors recommend it.

In Ottawa senators and MPs have known about the benefits of massage since the federal government blind massagers for their use 35 years ago. The list of clients since that time includes Senator David Mulroney, minister of public works under John Diefenbaker, former prime minister Pierre Trudeau, former House Speaker Jeanne Sauvé and Opposition Leader John Turner.

MPs and senators pay for treatment, which some receive twice a week.

The parliamentarians, like thousands of ordinary Canadians, accept the theory that massaging muscles and other soft tissues improves circulation and helps to flush out carbon dioxide, lactic acids and other bodily wastes which cause stiffness. For her part, Vanessa Harwood, a principal dancer with the National Ballet of Canada, says that she often suffers spasms in her right side after dancing the lead in *Sleeping Beauty*. But a massage every three days allows her to continue performing. And David Howard, a Victoria chartered accountant and his wife, Louise, a secretary, say their monthly visits to a massage therapist reduce stress. Added Louise: "I have gone in with headaches, and they are up by the end of the massage."

Although the *Riviera* monthly sessions are paid for by the H.C. health insurance plan, many Canadian companies recognize that reduced stress can improve worker productivity. Such firms as the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, Doberman Inc. and MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. now offer their employees group insurance policies that will reimburse them for massage treatments each year.

Clearly, at those firms at least, employers and employees alike are convinced that a drugless experience that offers a better sense of physical well-being, increased alertness and less stress is a valuable tool. Declared Christine Richardson, a co-founder of a Toronto school teaching massage techniques: "People do not have to take a Valium to relax their bodies, and their brains are still functioning." ♦



Massage, Harwood, relieving tension, improving circulation

the Swedish technique, which relies on combinations of direct pressure, friction, kneading and stroking to relax tensed muscles. At the same time, the Chinese and Japanese practice of Shiatsu massage, which requires pressure at specific points on the body to relieve tension, is also increasing in popularity.

As well, many doctors are now recommending massage for patients suffering from chronic pain. Indeed, Ruchelstein's 1992 Ontario survey revealed that doctors had referred 18 per cent of the 122 clients questioned to massage therapists. British Columbia has been the only province to pay for massage under its health care program (up to a maximum of 12 visits annually). And Ontario residents visiting the pain centre at Toronto's Sunnybrook Hospital may soon receive a massage on machines

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## MEDICINE

### New hope for MS sufferers

David Balon was a 31-year-old left winger for the New York Rangers getting ready for a 1971 National Hockey League playoff game against Chicago when he felt a disturbing weakness in both legs. Although he managed to play that night, within a year his 10-year professional hockey career was over. Doctors discovered that he was suffering from multiple sclerosis (MS), a degenerative, sometimes crippling disease of the central nervous system. There is no cure for the wasting disease, which attacks adults between the ages of 20 and 40. There now 10,000 victims in Canada, and Balon, now a restaurant owner in Prince Albert, Sask., constantly finds it difficult to walk or maintain coordination. Still, he and MS sufferers around the world received a measure of comfort from an announcement from Stanford, Calif., late last month. There, after four years of experiments with laboratory mice, a Stanford University research team managed to halt the spread of a disease that has many similarities to MS.

The Stanford results might, someday lead to a cure for MS. But many scientists, including Dr. Lawrence Steinman, the neurologist who led the 12-member Stanford research team, refuse to give it a quick victory over MS. One reason the origin of the disease is still unknown, although leading researchers in the field do suspect that a virus contracted in early childhood, and which later dormant until activated, may cause it. In those who are genetically susceptible. And while the Stanford researchers managed to halt the similar disease in the laboratory mice, the two ailments are not identical and might not respond to the same treatment.

Even so, the Stanford results especially encouraged MS sufferers in Canada, because earlier research indicates that inhabitants of cold countries are particularly vulnerable to the disease. Indeed, Canada has one of the highest per capita rates of its incidence in the world—twice as high as the rate in the United States, where 250,000 people have the disease. Declared Frederick Sagel, president of the Multiple Sclerosis Society of Canada (MSSC): "It is the same thing for people as it does for mice, they have really hit on something very big."

The Stanford results have already helped scientists understand how multi-

ple sclerosis design, because the experiments suggest that, while blood cells, instead of performing their correct function—fighting infections—become harmful. Those cells, known as "T helper cells," attack myelin, the fatty sheath that surrounds and protects nerve fibres. When they damage the brain and spinal column, the rogue cells short-circuit the transmission of nerve impulses, resulting in bouts of paralysis, weakness and loss of co-ordination. To counter those symptoms, Steinman's team developed cells that manufacture antibodies—proteins normally marshalled by the body to fight invading disease germs—specifically designed to home in on and kill T cells. Stanford researchers injected 30 mice with the antibodies before they showed signs of the MS-like disease. Nine developed the ailment. As well, antibody injections given to 34 of 38 mice that had already exhibited weakness and paralysis cleared up those symptoms within 32 hours. Sagel said: "To me these are really stunning results."

Steinman said that he plans to test humans by the end of the year and he added that he hopes the pattern that the mice experiments revealed will repeat. For their part, doctors treating MS patients have few tools to work with. Because MS symptoms result from rogue cells attacking healthy cells, drugs that are effective against the rogue cells also weaken the body's immune system, leaving its sufferers more vulnerable to any form of infection. Dr. George Ebers, an MS researcher at the University of Western Ontario in London, compares the immune system to an army ferried from spontaneous divisions. When such drugs are used to treat MS, and Ebers, it is like "shoot[ing] blindly at the whole army." As a result, he and other scientists must develop an antibody that will set only against MS symptoms. Added Ebers: "It would just knock out one division."

But attaining that critical goal will be an extremely formidable task. Although T helper cells cause nerve damage in mice, scientists now have to establish that they also cause brain damage. And even if they do, neutralizing them could still be difficult. Said Steinman: "My biggest worry is that the method will work, but at too high a cost. It may knock out normal immune function." And he further cautioned that even after the discovery of an effective antibody for use, another five years of experiments would be needed before the substance became widely available. Still, the MSSC's Sagel clearly found it difficult to restrain his optimism. Declared Sagel: "There is always a question mark. But this is the first big breakthrough we have ever had."

—DAVE SHURT

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## A threatening forecast

For each Northern Canadian as helicopter pilot Frank O'Connor, 40, an accurate weather forecast can mean the difference between life and death in some of the most inhospitable terrain in the world. O'Connor, based in Yellowknife, depends on Canadian forecasts prepared with information from two U.S. weather satellites. Said O'Connor, "The more accurate and dependable it is, the better." But President Ronald Reagan wants to scrap half the service permanently by regularly replacing only one worn-out satellite. If Congress agrees, his cost-cutting measure would save \$300 million over the next four years. But it would also mean less accurate forecasts for the Northwest Territories, Yukon and Alaska. Declared Gary Selman, a meteorologist with the Federal Arctic Weather Centre in Edmonton: "Without the satellites we would be blind. It could set weather forecasting here back 15 years."

Reagan's proposal, now before Congress, would cause other setbacks as well. For one thing, said James McCulloch, director general of central services



U.S. weather satellite: a dollar debate

for the Canadian Atmospheric Environment Services, the two northern weather satellites have stimulated the development of the North by sending back images used in resource exploration, forest-fire detection and charting Arctic shipping routes. The mechanical failure of a single satellite would leave meteorologists without any backup systems. Indeed, there have been 22 malfunctions aboard the satellites since the National Aeronautics and Space Administration launched the first polar orbiter in 1960. "The real danger," said McCulloch, "is what would happen if the remaining one were to fail."

For his part, U.S. budget director David Stockman says that U.S. military satellites could provide weather information if the remaining polar orbiter broke down. But that could be awkward and slow because coded information would have to be deciphered first. And since the United States supplies information from its weather satellites free of charge, McCulloch suggested that foreign nations show their support by providing extra features for U.S. satellites. Canada's department of national defence has allocated \$12.7 million for equipment used to locate signals from downed aircraft. But if that approach is unsuccessful and Congress agrees to the cut later this month, frontier living can only become riskier. —PAUL BREWSTER



Peter (center), McKinnon (standing), a fascinating study of cultural differences

## FILMS

### A thriller with two minds

#### WITNESS

Directed by Peter Weir

There are two wonderful ideas behind *Witness*. One is for a thriller in which a boy named Samuel (Gaelan Hall) travelling with his mother, Rachel (Kelly McGillis), witnesses the almost-identical murder of an undercover policeman in the men's room of a Philadelphia railway station. The boy identifies another officer as the killer to the detective in charge of the case, John Book (Harrison Ford). What keeps the thriller boiling is Book's dual realization, that the deadly corruption runs all the way to the top of the police department—and that knowing that, he must go into hiding with the boy. The other wonderful idea is: *Witness* is to portray the boy and his mother as Amish people from Pennsylvania's Lancaster County so that Book's secretive entry into their peaceful world becomes a fascinating, and often comic, study of the differences between two cultures—one of them up to the minute, the other stranded in time. To add extra tension, the detective and the Amish women fall in love with each other.

Director Peter Weir (*The Year of Living Dangerously*, *Gallop*) handles both these stories with intelligence and verve, but the two narratives never fuse quite as emotionally as they should have done. Except for the film's first half-hour, the action lacks the first-rate thriller's sense of a tight treading wire. And

while Book is hiding among the Amish, the movie's dramatic pace slackens and the audience knows, in an almost commonplace way, that the killer will eventually catch up with Book and the boy. Still, the scenes showing the Amish form a lovely centre to a film framed by sharp, expertly cut edges. Ford, so gratefully engaging in *The Year of Living Dangerously* and *The Untouchables*, is less an instant telephone hero. His befuddlement and embarrassment among often deaf, hard-working people is refreshingly, albeit badly played. Book's Amish, particularly old Eli (John Huber), believe in his righteousness as pure faith, and the hard-core Book himself cannot understand and accept their parable point of view. But what is most effective in *Witness* is the unrequited love story of Book and Rachel. The lovers' inability to express themselves, which they so desperately want to do, comes to define the true separation of civilizations in the film.

Weir seems incapable of making a bad or uninteresting movie, and in *Witness* he has composed startling images, often in tranquil long shots, which evoke the Amish way of life. The film also has a splendid musical score, by Maurice Jarre (*Lovers of Atrakeh*), who mixes both the old and the new to poignant effect. But in the end, *Witness* remains two movies, both artfully crafted and as watchable as the nearest—except that, in this case, less would have been more. —LORNE COUGHLIN

## Stagy sermons for the lapsed

#### MASS APPEAL

Directed by Glenn Jordan

Private and public faith are the subjects of *Mass Appeal*, the story of an older priest, and an equally young deacon trying to bridge the gap of understanding between them. Despite the movie points to the paradoxes and hypocrisies that have remained unchanged in the church despite its failures, it will likely reopen old wounds for those who have lapsed from Roman Catholicism or any other religion. But *Mass Appeal*, which Bill Davis has adapted from his own Broadway play, is far too schismatic and stuck to be truly satisfying. It lacks a renewal of emotion to match the exasperation of its intent.

Davis has created a sticky and transparent problem play. In one corner is Major Berke (Charles Durning), a powerful and narrow-minded deacon who has recently dismissed two seminarians on the basis of a rumor that they are lovers. Opposing him is another seminarian, Deacon Mark Delson (Zeljko Ivanek), who questions the direction the modern church should take. Acting as a referee is a popular priest, Rev. Timothy Farley (Jack Lemmon), who accepts the truthfulness young deacon into his own parish in order to stop the conflict. Farley, whose homiletical sermons come dangerously close to being vaudeville acts, finally has to make a stand against the seminator. He appeals to his parishioners on behalf of Delson who, because of his former rabid escapades, eventually receives Berke's summary dismissal. In his "mass appeal," Farley has to face some bitter truths about himself and his flock, whom he has assumed to be loyal.

Set up in that fashion, *Mass Appeal* is too much like a stage or which its characters stretch and make their speeches, they are more akin to talking props than flesh-and-blood creatures. As the deacon who seeks the truth at all costs, even squalling his own death wish, Delson becomes a caricature. Instead of an unrequited performance. During, however, has little more to work with than the stock villain's standard repertoire. But Lemmon, with his threadbare bag of actor's tricks, tact and maneuvering, gives an infuriatingly irritating performance. It eventually becomes clear that the actor's need for approval supersedes that of the character's. *Mass Appeal* is much like a carefully and cleverly constructed sermon that is not so much desperate to pack the congregation in as it is to keep it there. —LOTT



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## Laugh lines after school

THE BREAKFAST CLUB  
Directed by John Hughes

The teenagers in *The Breakfast Club*, who find themselves spending an entire Saturday of detention in their high school library, supposedly represent a cross-section of their age group. There is Bender (Judd Nelson), a lower-class kid with a big dog on his shoulder. He antagonizes everyone, particularly Claire (Molly Ringwald), a Jewish-American princess who brings sushi for her lunch. Andy (Emilio Estevez) is the sports fanatic. Brian (Anthony Michael Hall) is the brain, and the weird one is Allison (Alli Sheedy), who hardly speaks to the others at all. As the detention hours wear on, the audience discovers why the five are there, what their families are like, who is used to not a virgin and what their feelings are about life in general. *The Breakfast Club*, a flattering portrait of adolescence, articulates those feelings astoundingly well—and sometimes at the expense of its own believability.

The teenagers use such words as "pretense" and "conscienceless"—a not-put-to-anyone who has heard about growing affinity in North American schools. They have the vocabulary of a screenwriter who is very fond of verbs. Director John Hughes. At times the jokes are so snappy enough to override all objections, as when Bender asks the stuffy library-audited dean of students (Paul Giamatti) who has detained them, "Does Barry Manilow know you said his name?" And *The Breakfast Club* features young, musical actors who occasionally manage to create the illusion that they are real characters rather than teenagers for their generation. But for the most part, they speak the way an adult teen teenager speak.

Clearly, the film-makers strive to foster the audience's largest interest: the teenage teenagers. But as the five reveal themselves to one another their emotions are painfully clutched and taken on the unintentional comedy of a group therapy session seen by a cynical outsider. Nothing is *The Breakfast Club*-revolutionary or miserable like the pressures of peer and parents, even families—comes as a surprise. Even the hijinks seem obligatory—including scenes in which Bender acts free to his whims. For the most part, the film is wildly enjoyable, as long as the viewer does not take it at face value for a single minute. But in the end the audience may feel that it, too, has been kept too long after school. —L. O'F



Neilson (left), Eichen, at its best, the series lets its subjects be themselves

## TELEVISION

# The case for the lawyers

LAWYERS  
(CBC, Feb. 25-April 7)

Lawyers, the undertakers, make money out of other people's misfortune. But despite the eternal enmity of midwives and the suspicion of the general public, the CBC's new eight-part series, *Lawyers*—inspired by Jack Batton's 1980 best seller of the same name—takes a high view of the men and women in black. Indeed, the opening sequence of each show shamelessly glorifies the profession with a flourish of trumpets and a shot of a distinguished barrister arriving at Toronto's Osgoode Hall.

Despite such fanfare, most of the programs spend as much time examining the dirty sides and belts of the law as they do highlighting the well-paid personalities who practice it. The best episode, "And You Shall Be Heard," begins with a 30-year-old Kingston, Ont., mother of two, Linda Clark, who in 1984 was accused of the second-degree murder of a nursing-home inmate. Director Ted Demme's one-sided Clark and the Prince George County Court to let him film every step of the criminal proceedings against the woman, from her arrest to the conclusion of her harrowing trial. The courtroom sequences are particularly gripping: Clark's gaze has time on her lawyer, Martin Kerbel, in blind, desperate trust in his skills.

While other programs lack the

psychological fascination and complexity of *Apocalypse Now*, several other informative programs into the enormous variety of tasks lawyers must perform. *Stories of Justice* begins—somewhat oddly—on the members of Canada's most mobile court, which flies to isolated settlements through the Northwest Territories. And *The Humble Law* was a melodramatic dramatization from Franz Kafka's novel *The Trial* to teach against the totalitarian power concentrated in the hands of such government agencies as the Workers' Compensation and Assessment Review boards.

While there is much in *Lawyers* that is worthy, there are also moments of astonishing bathos. Three-Piece suits attempt to romanticize the essentially dull business of corporate law and in the process offers some hilarious overacting. Setting the scene the night before an important business deal, narrator Patrick Watson strokes the lush fur-trimmed in the boardroom of a large Calgary law firm. "A lot of the lawyers at Sunset," Watson crows, "like to think of this room the way an old football player would remember a stadium where he had once played the Grey Cup." The music that accompanies these lines sounds as if it had been written for Walt Disney's portrayal of the death of Rembo's mother. Fortunately, most of *Lawyers* rises above that level when it lets its subjects speak for themselves. Lawyers are better judged by their own merits than by the imagined glories of their profession. —JOHN BROWNE

## ART

# A challenge to New World sensibilities

In the creatively explosive era following the Second World War, the capital of the art world shifted from Paris to New York. For the first time in artistic history, leadership passed from the Old World to the New, and the New York movement of Abstract Expressionism, Pop Art, the reductionist simplicity of Minimalism and Conceptualism, in which ideas prevailed over artistic content, between them dominated the international art scene for more than three decades. But in recent years Europe has begun to reassert its cultural authority. A new wave of German and Italian painters, who started exhibiting in New York in 1973, has now rapidly commercial success—and lately divided critical response. The German and Italian intentions have also influenced a generation of younger artists seeking a way out of the dead-end sterility of North American movements.

Still, cultural institutions on this continent have been slow to examine the movement. The European Insberg, which opened last week at the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO), will help to close the gap by offering North American viewers the most comprehensive survey to date of the contemporary art in Germany and Italy.

The European Insberg, named for its ambitious scope and size (it is the largest show the AGO has ever mounted) single out two key movements and vitality of the two cultures. The almost 300 works overviews the gallery like an invading army whose bold sensibilities prick themselves at every turn. Giuseppe Penone's large, biomorphic figures wrapped peristaltically around small barrels from Leona Baumgarten's tribute to Ontario Indian tribe whose names he has painted on the formal white walls of the AGO's Walter Court, Gerhard Richter's smearing abstracts in hot natural colors. Hans Carossa's hard-edged, jagged, jagged—work works on the Insberg's tip, and indicate the drama and excitement of the offerings.

Confronted by Italian critic Germano Celant, the show attempts to cover a broad range of the arts, including architecture, photography, graphic and industrial design, film and theatre—most of it produced in the 1960s. But painting and sculpture predominate in the major exhibition galleries, the other disciplines are treated on a smaller scale in smaller spaces.

As Celant observes in his introductory essay to the Insberg exhibition catalogue:

Insberg's future glass coon designed to house as the travelling exhibition contrasts with the traditionalism of postmodernist Aldo Rossi's Teatro del Mondo in Venice. But it is the questioning of the painting and sculpture that are most riveting in The European Insberg. Their abundant energy has put a reenergized Europe squarely back on the art map. —GILIAN MACLEAN



Stefano Pella's sign: inventiveness and vitality

lago, the fascist periods in Germany and Italy left both cultures insecure and vulnerable to outside influences. But by the 1970s, European artists in increasing numbers were rebelling against the artistic dominance of the United States. The New York-based movements of Minimalism and Conceptualism had pursued the purity of abstract ideas and renounced the traditional image-making function of art. But in Europe a sensual, subjective art began to emerge which drew freely from the past. Abstract painting flourished in the sunspots, jewel-like curtains of color in Pier Paolo Calzolari's *Robora V* and

the stormy atmospheric depths of Sigmar Polke's *Stone and Road*.

In Europe, as in North America, the spirit of revolutionary optimism about political and social reform which prevailed in the 1960s gave way in subsequent years to a darker mood. With the exception of the crisp elegance of Alberto Burri's abstract *Colore C* series of paintings, the fine arts, with their struggles and many experiences of contemporary problems, have little in common with the sleek, confident products of European industrial design, of which the most familiar is Dieter Rams's Braun collection. In architecture, Renzo Piano's futuristic glass coon designed to house as the travelling exhibition contrasts with the traditionalism of postmodernist Aldo Rossi's Teatro del Mondo in Venice. But it is the questioning of the painting and sculpture that are most riveting in The European Insberg. Their abundant energy has put a reenergized Europe squarely back on the art map.

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- Fiction**
- 1 *Strong Medicine*, Meloy (C)
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  - 4 *The Skiller*, Parnell (C)
  - 5 *Il Tattologo*, Cusi, Shellen (C)
  - 6 *Slaves Daily Creek*, Archer (B)
  - 7 *First Among Equals*, Archer (B)
  - 8 *Not Wanted on the Voyage*, Pindley (C)
  - 9 *So Long, And Thanks For All The Fish*, Adams (C)
  - 10 *The Aquilone Proprietor*, Zeffman (B)
- Nonfiction**
- 1 *Insberg*, Bennett with Penon (C)
  - 2 *A Day in the Life of Canada*, Edited by Cohen (C)
  - 3 *The Traders Inside Canada's Stock Markets*, Ross (B)
  - 4 *The President's Men*, Boston (A)
  - 5 *What They Don't Teach You At Harvard Business School*, McCombs (C)
  - 6 *Sea of Shanties*, Mount (C)
  - 7 *Looney Chas Other*, Strachan (B)
  - 8 *Figure, A History Story*, Williams with Leeson (C)
  - 9 *Public Money Private Greed*, Cameron and Bird (C)
  - 10 *Gaverty, Gaverty and Taylor* (C)
- (C) Current, (B) Best, (A) Best

# Reagan recruits the Lord

By Allan Fotheringham

**S**urely the fog of the midlife and the trash energies, creeping in on its shiny feet. We can see now, quite clearly, why Ronald Reagan is such a tremendous success. Unemployment is high, the dollar is down, the inflation rate is down, the dollar is soaring, the military have all the death weapons they want and the American public is exhausted in its home-against-us confidence. The reason? The President has recruited God as a member of his cabinet. An extra chair has been placed at the table and God is in there voting faithfully the Republican ticket—and especially approving any new appropriations for the military.

God never strays very far from Reagan's speeches, and in fact manages to make an appearance in almost every one of them. Then, last week God came right out and joined those who want more nuclear arms. In a speech to a group of leading businessmen the President reached into St. Luke and pulled forth a passage about a king who plans to make war, finds out he is under-armed and has to back away from his plan. Mr. Reagan, having proved the

God is not a woman because if she were, she would have treated females far better than they are treated now. God, in fact, turns out not only to be an American, but a Republican. Every coin in America bears the inscription "In God We Trust" (all others pay cash). Now the devil has left the world of finance to get into global politics.

That's the trouble with God. He's always changing sides. You can't rely on Him. In our last big war, every German soldier went into battle with God with us—God is with us—inscribed on his belt-buckle. Now the racial has



revisted camps and is working for the Americans.

To make sure God doesn't change countries again and go to a new sector, President Reagan is heavily into prayer breakfasts, where the 50 states with the Bible and the crime statute gets introduced in St. Luke. There was one in Washington the other day, attended by some 2,000 at the fearful hour of 7:00 (does God never sleep in?). There were supposed to be more 60 Canadian MPs present, even including one Meeus, whose identity is still being sought. Friends of mine attended and found themselves seated beside The Galloping Gourmet, Graham Kerr, who has given up the cause, is born-again and wailed down the convulsed eggs benedict with a passion only a true believer could have. (How does one make enough eggs benedict for 3,000 people? You start last Tuesday.) Prayer breakfasts were started under Eisenhower back in the 1950s and people come from as far away as

San Diego to gaze upon concrete eggs benedict and make sure that God's American citizenship has not lapsed.

If Luke is on the side of nuclear madness, how about Matthew, Mark and John? Surely, now that the Bible has been revealed to be on the side of the Star Wars defence system, surely we can find some gospel urging that peace-shares be turned into war-shares? It's always been said that you can find anything you want in the Bible, and President Reagan is proving it.

Canadian politics is full of saints such as J.S. Woodsworth and preachers such as Tommy Douglas. Lester Pearson was a son of the Mass. Macdonald King was the expert on the after-death, though it seems he was more into the occult and the outis band than straight religion. John Turner is a deeply religious man. But essentially God doesn't get too interested in, or intrude upon, Canadian politics. Perhaps He thinks it's too dull.

This corner has another theory. God can't spread himself too thin. When He has to get up early for prayer breakfasts, it makes for a firing day. When He has to spend all these hours prying over

Caesar Maitland's requests for increased in the Postage budget and approving George Shultz's plans for the withdrawal from Lebanon, you don't have too much time left to worry about the baby wall problem. Give a guy a break.

The one thing Ronald Reagan is famous for in Washington is demanding complete loyalty from his underlings. He expects, without exception, some rather dubious responses, including his new attorney general, Edwin Meese, who gave government jobs to those who helped him out of his financial problems and fudged on expense accounts and some pointed, as the number 1 law enforcement officer of the nation, about the definition of the word ethics.

In return for this loyalty, Reagan demands the same thing. It is thought that God knows this. He is going to stick with this administration as long as it requires four more years.

Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for *Alison News*.



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